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ABSTRACT

This annual compilation contains four articles addressing issues of growth and diversity in American higher education. Three articles examine student life in evolving institutions, especially the relationship between official missions and student cultures, followed by two essay reviews, one that examines the current debate surrounding the history of academic disciplines, the other describing the relationship of athletics to the student culture and to the physical development of students. Articles and their authors are as follows: (1) "Race, Class, and the Bonds of Womanhood at Spelman Seminary, 1881-1923" (Lynn D. Gordon); (2) "Promoting 'Responsible Freedom': Administrators and Social Fraternities at the University of Illinois, 1900-1931" (Terence Finnegan); (3) "'The Best Emissaries': M.B.A. Students at Cornell University, 1948-1987" (James W. Schmotter); "Nelson Rockefeller and the Politics of Higher Education in New York State" (Judith S. Glazer); "Writing the History of the Disciplines" (Steven J. Diner); and "Athletics and the Academy" (Nancy L. Struna) (GLR)

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OF

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ANNUAL

Volume 9

1989

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On the cover: University Hall, Northwestern University

Introduction to Volume Nine

HAROLD S. WECHSLER
Northwestern University

The ninth volume of the *History of Higher Education Annual* addresses issues of growth and diversity in American higher education. Three articles examine student life in evolving institutions, especially the relationship between official missions and student cultures. At Spelman College, students asked the institution to live up to its mission. Administrators at the University of Illinois used the student culture to further its official aims. Cornell's School of Business and Public Administration changed its mission to conform to student preference.

"Race, Class, and the Bonds of Womanhood at Spelman Seminary, 1881-1923," by Lynn D. Gordon, shows that the African-American women students who enrolled at Spelman College absorbed the founders' ideals of racial uplift through emulation of the virtues desired in contemporary, white, middle-class women. After graduation, these early twentieth century Spelman alumnae viewed these virtues of domesticity and Christian piety as the basis for racial equality, not just uplift—a step that their white sponsors could not take. Spelman alumnae learned that racial divisions were stronger than the bonds of womanhood.

"Promoting "Responsible Freedom,'" Terence Finnegan's article on social fraternities at the University of Illinois in the early twentieth century, shows how administrators tried to control student behavior as traditional methods became obsolescent. At Spelman, students attempted to force the school's leadership to live up to professed ideals, but at Illinois the Dean of Men, Thomas Arkle Clark, worked to assure that fraternities lived up to their ideals and their codes of conduct. Clark, Finnegan notes, claimed that "through fraternities, he could control and direct student enterprises, student activities, and student thought."

"The Best Emissaries," by James W. Schmotter shows that business students at Cornell's School of Business and Public Administration ignored the school's official mission of preparation for administrative positions in the public and private sectors based upon a knowledge of "universal" principles of administration. Instead, these students focused on careers in business, and enrolled in courses that appeared professionally relevant. Cornell M.B.A.'s, Schmotter concludes, "learned how to manage financial resources to produce the immediate results demanded by investors increasingly concerned with short term performance."

Judith S. Glazer's essay, "Nelson Rockefeller and the Politics of Higher Education in New York State," depicts the politics of planning for the massive influx of students into colleges and universities that began after World War II. Rapid growth raised curricular and organizational issues for higher education planners in a state where private higher education institutions previously faced little challenge from public institutions. Governor Nelson Rockefeller secured a large state system by dividing the state's resources between all constituencies—public and private. "By avoiding a zero-sum game," Glazer concludes, "Rockefeller dramatically expanded higher education in New York State. With 224 autonomous degree-granting colleges and universities, 80,000 faculty members, 500,000 full-time students, 764,000 students in all categories, and $2.3 billion in operating budgets, higher education was a major political and economic force in the state."

The *Annual* also contains two essay reviews. Steven J. Diner examines the debate that currently surrounds the history of academic disciplines. Diner shows that changes in intellectual agendas must be seen in the context of social and institutional histories. He concludes that curricular fragmentation and confusion over purpose—both derided by contemporary critics—"are not new to American scholarship, and may be inherent in the way Americans have organized the scholarly enterprise."

Nancy L. Struna examines the history of athletics in American higher education, and the relationship of athletics to the student culture and to the physical development of students. Athletic programs increase institutional visibility, provide revenue, and affect the academic and social missions of colleges and universities. Struna highlights the costs of athletic programs—not just the financial costs, but also the costs in terms of the educational missions of American colleges and universities.

We take pleasure in announcing that the *Annual* has a new home at the School of Education and Social Policy, Northwestern University. We look forward to a productive relationship. We also wish to thank the University of Rochester for its hospitality during the past three years.

Race, Class, and the Bonds of Womanhood at Spelman Seminary, 1881-1923

LYNN D. GORDON
University of Rochester

THE PHOTOGRAPH OF A YOUNG BLACK woman adorns the cover of Spelman College's centennial history. Dressed all in white, with a picture hat, a long-sleeved, high-necked shirt waist, and a demure expression, she embodies the qualities of proper Victorian femininity. The portrait of Frankie Quarles represents what Spelman's founders and supporters hoped to achieve—the creation of a black female middle class, embued with bourgeois Christian values, dedicated to service in the homes and towns of African-Americans.[1]

The white missionaries who ran Spelman blended ideas about race, class, and gender in formulating their educational philosophy. Spelman's teachers—like other liberal, reform-oriented Americans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—believed that women had the distinctive task of providing moral and spiritual guidance to society, as a corrective to the aggressive, competitive behavior required of men in a capitalist economy. They viewed class as a product of behavior and attitudes rather than a socio-economically constructed reality, and they promoted hard work, sobriety, and frugality as the sure means for the poor to improve their lot in life. Finally, the missionaries looked upon southern blacks as a people degraded—economically, culturally, and spiritually—by the experience and heritage of slavery.

Through education, prayer, and labor, the missionaries hoped to instill northern middle class values and habits, thus transforming the cultural patterns productive (as they believed) of poverty and racism. This cultural transformation could only take place with the active participation of African-American women. By becoming models of domesticity and Christian piety, as northern white women were constantly urged to do, black women would "uplift" their families, communities, and race into a sober, respectable, God-fearing, property-owning black middle class.[2]

Twentieth century critics, black and white, have attacked the missionaries' ideology, its embodiment in Spelman and other black colleges, and its effects on African-American culture and society. Historians have pointed to the sophistication, richness, and durability, even during slavery itself, of black religion and family life, and hold economic and political

Cover of: Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Jo Moore Stewart,
Spelman: A Centennial Celebration 1881-1981
(Atlanta, Georgia: Spelman College, 1981)

oppression by whites responsible for whatever "degradation" existed in post-Civil War black society. Others have attacked the white missionaries for disdaining and disregarding black culture, and teaching the black middle class to do so as well, so that generations of leaders concentrated on their own professional advancement, and ignored the needs of their people. These historians claim that by forbidding political associations and activities among their students, and restricting the numbers of black faculty, the black colleges stood for conservatism and repression. They argue that the missionaries allowed northern philanthropic foundations to force the adoption of industrial education at black colleges, high schools, and normal institutes, thus limiting the educational and professional growth of African-Americans, and hindering the development of political consciousness.[3]

The interpretive framework of these critics has much to recommend it, but fails to pose a number of important questions and to introduce significant modifications and subtleties into the discourse on the history of black higher education. James McPherson and others have demonstrated that the missionaries' vision, however limited, represented a progressive environmental and ameliorative vision of social problems, in an age when most Americans believed that blacks belonged to an inherently and permanently inferior race. Missionaries argued that blacks, like the white working classes, were capable of sharing the superior values and norms of their own New England middle class world, if properly educated. This position laid the teachers open to physical attack by white Southerners and to abuse from Northerners as well.[4]

Another question, as yet unanswered, concerns the attitudes of African-Americans about higher education, especially the students who attended missionary-operated institutions. A generation of social historians has taught us not to assume a lack of resistance from subject populations. Most recently, educational historians have shown that teachers and/or students often turned stated institutional purposes to their own ends. How did students and the black community respond to and shape the missionary colleges?[5]

The issue of gender, so important to the missionaries, has received virtually no attention from historians. How can we compare black women's higher education to the higher education of black men, or of white women during different historical periods? Did African-American women share or reject the goals of their teachers? And finally, what has been the relationship of black women's higher education to their later lives?[6]

A study of Spelman during its early years helps us to address these issues. By virtue of its single-sex status, Spelman was a unique black institution. But it embodied widely-held views, in both the black and white communities, about race, class, and gender in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[7]

"Born of Woman, As Vassar Was Not"[8]

Sophia B. Packard (1824-1891) and Harriet Elizabeth Giles (1833-1909) founded the school that became Spelman Seminary, and in 1923 Spelman College. Both women were Massachusetts natives, educated at New England academies. Packard returned to New Salem Academy, her alma mater, as preceptress, in 1854. There she met Giles, a senior student and teaching assistant. The two women formed a strong, loving relationship that lasted the rest of their lives. They taught at the same schools, lived together, and even dressed alike. Like many other middle class career women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they chose not to marry, but to become a family and a professional team.[9]

Giles and Packard taught at Oread Collegiate Institute in Worcester (1864 to1867) where the founder, Eli Thayer, a Brown graduate and abolitionist, set up a collegiate course for women. His students included Laura Spelman, who later married John D. Rockefeller, and her sister, Lucy. Packard was co-principal of the institute, with Reverend John Shepardson, pastor of the Baptist Church of Petersham. In addition to her administrative duties, she taught metaphysics and literature, while Giles was responsible for "ornamentals and music." In June 1866, Harris R. Greene succeeded Shepardson as co-principal, and one year later, Packard and Giles resigned. Packard's biographer stated that Greene forced her out because of her popularity with students and her success in running the school.[10]

The two friends went to Boston, where Packard worked for the Empire Life Insurance Company, and Giles gave music lessons. They kept busy with family matters and volunteer work for the Tremont Temple Baptist Church. In 1877, Sophia Packard and other Boston women founded the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS) as an auxiliary to the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS). Over 200 women, interested in educating and Christianizing freed blacks, Indians, and immigrants, met in the Tremont Temple. As treasurer and then corresponding secretary for the organization, the work took over Packard's life. She traveled and spoke for the group, held conferences, and did clerical chores. Packard and Giles became convinced of the need for a school to serve black girls and women in Georgia while on a field trip to assess Baptist educational work. They returned to Boston to raise money and to persuade the WABHMS to send them South to run such a school. In March of 1881, the society endorsed their project, and less than a month later, Packard and Giles were on their way.

The ABHMS had already founded Atlanta Baptist Seminary for men (which became Atlanta Baptist College in 1897, and Morehouse College in 1913). A teacher at the seminary referred Packard and Giles to Reverend Frank Quarles, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, and a leader of African-American civic and educational life in Georgia. Quarles replied to their request for assistance: "When I was praying, the Lord heard and answered. I was on my knees pleading with God to send teachers for the Baptist women and girls of Georgia. We fully believe the Lord has sent you." Father Quarles offered Packard and Giles his basement, where they opened their school on Monday, April 11, 1881. Only 11 women came to classes the first day, but on July 15, when the school closed for the summer, 80 students were enrolled.[11]

Packard and Giles allied themselves with black ministers in the community, and offered Friday evening prayer services and two Sunday School sessions as well as their daily classes. WABHMS did not respond as enthusiastically as Georgia blacks to the women's efforts. The society recalled Packard and Giles, due to an unspecified misunderstanding, in summer, 1881. They refused to return to Boston and made friends and built interracial networks in Atlanta to raise money and win public approval for their school. When the society dismissed the two teachers, Father Quarles went North to enlist Baptist support for the school. Quarles died of pneumonia on this trip, but before his death, he smoothed over the conflict, and won the help of Reverend Henry L. Morehouse, field secretary of ABHMS. The women's society agreed to continue Packard's and Giles's salaries, and sent two more agents, Sarah H. Champney and Caroline M. Grover, to teach in the basement school.[12]

In 1882, while fund-raising, Packard and Giles met John D. Rockefeller, through Rockefeller's pastor Reverend George Olcott King, a former student. Rockefeller gave the women $250, the first of many contributions to black education and to Spelman Seminary. His assistance helped the ABHMS purchase a former Union Army barracks in Atlanta, as a permanent home for the school. In January 1883, after a year and a half in the church basement, students and faculty moved to the new 20-acre site.

Despite their success in acquiring students, funds, buildings, and the support of both the black community and the white mission societies, Packard and Giles almost lost control of the school in 1883. Morehouse and the ABHMS wanted to turn the school into the "Girls' Department" of Atlanta Baptist Seminary. Black schools were usually coeducational, to avoid expensive duplication of resources. But, the faculty and the women's mission society vigorously objected to coeducation. Packard told Morehouse that women students needed female teachers as exemplars of the connections between religion, education, domesticity, and morality. The women won their battle when Rockefeller helped them pay off the mortgage on the barracks site. Exactly three years after its founding, on April 11, 1884, the school was re-dedicated in the presence of the Rockefellers, and named "Spelman Seminary" in honor of Laura Spelman Rockefeller's abolitionist family.[13]

In 1888, the state of Georgia granted Spelman a charter, for the "establishment and maintenance of an Institution of learning for young colored women, in which special attention is to be given to the formation of industrial habits and of Christian character." To facilitate this acceptance by the state, the first Board of Trustees included two blacks, and representation from ABHMS, WABHMS, and Atlanta whites among its 16 members. By 1891, the year of Sophia Packard's death, the school had new buildings, and 830 students from 12 states, half of whom lived on the campus.

Spelman's catalogues, publications, and the names on its buildings reiterated the story of the seminary's establishment. On Founders' Day, April 11th; on the birth and death days of Packard and Giles, and to honor Reverend Quarles's memory, students and faculty, alumnae and trustees, lovingly told and retold the story of the founding and early years. The founders, Baptist officials, students and faculty, made the school's history a constant theme in their correspondence, speeches, and writings. The history fused abolitionist ideals, missionary sentiments and goals, and commitment to women's higher education. It created devotion, dedication, inspiration, and self-consciousness in the Spelman community. The life stories of the "sainted" Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles became an inspirational litany of success, progress, and Godliness, and important teaching tools for the creation of a female black middle class with a Victorian Christian ethos.[14]

Educating the Female Talented Tenth

Spelman—like other late nineteenth century black educational institutions—began with a modest curriculum aimed at providing literacy, particularly Christian literacy, or Bible-reading. But by 1892-1893, ten years after the school's founding, the seminary's catalogue listed eight programs or departments. The Preparatory Department offered an elementary education, while the Academic Department had a four-year secondary course. The Collegiate Department, open only to graduates of the Academic Department, offered a modest, but growing curriculum, mostly in languages. Students who wanted an A.B. degree combined Spelman courses with courses at Atlanta Baptist Seminary. In 1901, Claudia T. White, daughter of trustee William J. White, and Jane Anna Granderson became the first Spelman B.A.'s. Between 1901 and 1923, when the seminary officially became a college, 20 Spelman women received college degrees through Morehouse.[15]

Spelman also gave certificates in teacher education (a one-year program with Atlanta Baptist Seminary, open to graduates of the Academic Department), nursing (a two-year course), and missionary work. These programs provided career opportunities for black women, and potential service to southern black communities. The industrial department, with teachers financed by the Slater Fund, offered certificates to students who served "creditably" in chamber-work, table-work, dish-washing, cooking, washing, ironing, and plain sewing. That department also offered electives in printing and dressmaking. All boarding students, whether or not they wanted industrial certificates, studied housekeeping, and many students performed domestic work for the seminary to pay the $100 annual board charge.

It is difficult to assess the quality of a Spelman education. The teachers were not college graduates, but often had extensive experience in good northern secondary schools and academies. It is hard to determine, too, whether industrial education requirements, the need of boarding students to work to pay their fees, and attendance at religious functions took up so much of students' time that they neglected academic courses. We can say, however, that the seminary sought to offer a high quality education, and that trustees, faculty, and backers wanted the school to develop into a first-rate college. Spelman's staff had no ambivalence about their mission to produce female leaders for the black community. They never intended their students to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for southern whites. The seminary's domestic and industrial requirements existed to prepare women for their own family life, not careers as maids or cooks.[16]

Henry L. Morehouse was especially emphatic about Spelman's mission, referring to the school as the Vassar, Wellesley, or Mt. Holyoke of the South: "The talk that the Negro cannot be educated, or should be educated for his sphere as if he were fore-ordained to everlasting intellectual inferiority is, in the light of facts to-day, antiquated nonsense." Morehouse was the first to use the phrase "talented tenth" in reference to the mission of the black seminaries/colleges.[17]

Spelman's principals and faculty shared these sentiments. In the 1890s, after Packard's death, Giles and the Board of Trustees worked out long-range plans to upgrade Spelman's educational offerings. At the seminary's fifteenth anniversary celebration, in 1896, Lucy H. Upton, a teacher at the school, and later its principal (1909-1910, between the administrations of Giles and Lucy H. Tapley), said that Spelman aimed to give a thorough Christian education to Negro girls and women, to fit them for any position which life might bring them, and to open to them as wide opportunities as other races had. "We see in imagination," she said, "the daughters of Spelman, college graduates, physicians, poets, editors, artists. Spelman ought to become the Wellesley of the South." Although they viewed African civilization as desperately in need of the refining influence of western values and the Christian religion, Spelman authorities urged young women to remember and acknowledge their African heritage. The seminary/college offered courses on African and African-American history, and on African art, some taught by W.E.B.DuBois, then a professor at nearby Atlanta University.[18]

Only during Lucy H. Tapley's principalship (1910-1927) did the seminary falter in its move toward collegiate status. Tapley promoted industrial education, giving more space in her annual reports to the activities of industrial departments, and adding courses to it, such as one in "chicken culture." Despite Tapley's preferences, however, the seminary officially became a college in 1924, receiving an "A" rating from the state of Georgia in 1927; and an "A" from the federal government in 1932.[19]

To the missionaries, education for leadership also meant Christian education. The school had a thoroughly religious atmosphere, and its motto, emblazoned across the front of the monthly newsletter, *The Spelman Messenger*, proclaimed, "Our whole school for Christ." Christianity provided values and meaning to liberal arts education. As Packard said to her staff, "My dear teachers, is it possible that a whole week has passed without one soul's being brought to Christ? Even with all that has been accomplished in every department, we must yet count such a week as one of saddest failure." The *Annual Report* of the principal, published each Founders' Day in *The Spelman Messenger*, included among statistics of attendance and diplomas, the number of conversions achieved during the year. By 1906, 1291 conversions were recorded for the school's 25-year history, aided, no doubt, by the practice of rooming the unconverted with the saved.[20]

Spelman faculty, administrators, and supporters showed far less ambivalence about the consequences of women's higher education than did their counterparts at white colleges, single sex or coeducational. Instead of worrying that educated women would neglect their families, they saw a compelling need for "womanly" influence in the black community. Educated black women would "uplift" the race (an expression denoting a wide range of middle class activities, from the use of proper table linen to education). Moreover, the chaste behavior of educated black women and their children would elevate black family life to new heights of middle class respectability. Teachers thus urged their students to use their talents beyond the fireside. At the very least they should teach Sunday School, and do mission work for temperance and social purity causes. Stories of black women who became doctors, missionaries, nurses, teachers, and practiced their professions in combination with marriage and child-rearing were a regular feature in *The Spelman Messenger*.[21]

Educated black women may have felt the difficulty of combining two careers—homemaker and professional—but they were constantly reminded of their obligations. As Mrs. M. C. Reynolds, secretary of the WABHMS, told students in 1902:

> A new danger confronts the Negro woman....Rapidly she is becoming independent, herself fit to lead, and she is asking the question, 'How shall my life be spent?' I am fitted to enjoy intellectual research, cultured society, and people of refinement. The masses of people are uneducated, unrefined. Why should I not leave them and enjoy the society of those more fortunate sisters who have advantage with myself. Self-love is the great temptation which meets every educated woman. Because of the great work...and the few who are able to do it...we cannot choose our own path in life....you are called to labor.[22]

White women missionaries thus created an institution and a curriculum rejecting both popular notions of black intellectual inferiority, and the Booker T. Washington compromise of purely industrial higher education. Despite their charter's pledge to vocationalism, they provided students with higher education for leadership and Christian service, and urged black women to prepare for public social and civic activity, warning them against careers designed only to promote individual fame or accumulation of wealth.

The missionaries' educational philosophy and practices reflected their belief that the embourgeoisement and professionalization of black women would benefit urban and rural black communities by providing teachers, nurses, Christian workers, and homemakers. The missionaries stopped short, however, of proclaiming the social and political equality of the races in their educational work and publications, although some of them, as individuals, certainly believed in such principles. While they borrowed ideas about the social meaning of gender for black women from current reform notions about the roles of white women, they did not promote interracial sisterhood, i.e. the common purposes of black and white Christian middle class women. And they practiced a form of cultural imperialism by weaning Spelman students away from traditional African-American religion to a more decorous, New England-style evangelical Christianity.

Educators of white women found it necessary to reassure an anxious public that college would not hurt or destroy the influence of home training. In contrast, white teachers of black women argued that education would combat pernicious influences in their students' background and family life. And despite their positive views of blacks' abilities, the missionaries did not explicitly envision any challenge on the part of the talented tenth to political oppression. Their gradualist program of advancement through higher education, service, cultural transformation, and property accumulation included no plan for how black communities might progress beyond a separate and politically disadvantaged status.[23]

Spelman students and the African-American community shared many of the missionaries' goals and values, but resisted the institutional and ideological limitations of black higher education. As a result, the middle class emerging from Spelman and other black colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constituted a vanguard of black intellectuals and community leaders well-prepared to take on the challenge of American racism.

Students and Alumnae

In 1900, half of the 669 Spelman Seminary students were boarders, and five percent came from outside the American South, including five students from the Congo, thirteen from Colombia, two from Honduras, and two from Jamaica. In 1908-1909, over half the boarders were working their way through school. The fathers of 53 per cent of the students were skilled laborers, and 35 per cent were the children of widows.[24]

Spelman students followed a rigid daily schedule, beginning with a 6 A.M. breakfast (on laundry days they rose at 4 A.M.), and continuing with classes, study, work, and prayer until "lights-out" at 9 P.M. Only from 3 to 5 in the afternoon did students enjoy some unsupervised time. They had study halls every evening except Friday, which was reserved for a lecture or concert, and Sundays, of course, were devoted to church, prayer, and Bible-readings.

Extracurricular life centered around organizations such as the campus Sunday School, the Christian Endeavor Society, the King's Messenger Band, the Congo Mission Circle, the Social Purity Society, the White Shield Society, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. After 1900, most campus societies were consolidated under the umbrella of the campus YWCA. *The Spelman Messenger*, published monthly in the seminary's print shop, went out to donors, alumnae, and northern mission societies. Although an excellent source for the goals and activities of the seminary, it does not represent the independent views of students. Spelman's few college students formed a Greek society, the Eumonean, and worked on a literary publication, *The Athenaeum*, with Morehouse students. In 1913, Principal Lucy Hale Tapley refused the NAACP permission to organize a chapter at Spelman. Nor were other forms of political activity for students, including public debates, allowed.[25]

In keeping with its Christian character, Spelman printed strict social regulations, including a dress code, in the catalogue. In 1920-1921, the rules stated that "Loud inharmonious colors, extreme styles, and inappropriate materials are always in poor taste." Students were to bring from home dark wash dresses, dark petticoats, aprons, and a dark dress skirt, plain white cotton waists, long underwear, black shoes, and rubber overshoes. On special occasions, students wore white wash dresses, and graduates were allowed a reception dress for commencement festivities. Contact with young men was not prohibited, and indeed it would have been difficult to enforce such a rule, since Spelman shared some classes and activities with Morehouse. Still, formal calls were limited to twenty minutes on Saturdays between 2 P.M. and 5 P.M. Callers were required to say good-by in the front hall; nor could students meet their visitors outside the dormitories, or walk outside with them.[26]

Spelman's highly controlled and structured campus life was not unprecedented in women's higher education. The seminary's strict schedule, limitations on the development of a secular student life, social and dress regulations resemble the situation at Mount Holyoke and other religiously-oriented New England academies in the mid- to late nineteenth century; academies where many of Spelman's teachers had themselves been educated or had taught. Most Spelman women before the 1920s were not college students, either in terms of their academic courses or their chronological ages. Vassar College authorities also forbade some forms of students' political life, banning suffrage organizations until 1914. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, many southern colleges for white women emphasized the development of Christian character, and similarly restricted students' social lives.[27]

Precedents aside, Spelman (and other black colleges) instituted and continued such practices at a time when they were disappearing from northern schools, and when students at southern white women's colleges enjoyed, in addition to Christian activities, debate, literary magazines, and purely social events.

Spelman showed a similar lack of progressive inclinations with regard to its teachers. Beginning in the 1890s, white women's schools and colleges, north and south, diversified and upgraded their faculty. For colleges this meant hiring women and men with Ph.D.'s; seminaries and academies expanded the number of faculty with bachelor's degrees. Spelman, however, continued to emphasize the hiring of women with missionary inclinations. In 1911, half of the Spelman faculty had been there 10 years or longer. Furthermore, at a time when such institutions began hiring black faculty, Spelman's teachers remained almost exclusively white. Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse) had a faculty/staff that was 55 percent black in 1894-1895, and went up to 89 percent in 1914-1915. Fisk University went from a very small black faculty (three percent in 1894-1895) to a much larger one of 30 percent in 1915. Spelman, however, actually lost ground. In 1895, 11 percent of the faculty was black; but only six percent in 1915.[28]

Spelman's principals and teachers maintained controls and rules because they believed African-American women to be particularly vulnerable to pernicious social influences. The teachers were well aware, for example, that white men often preyed on black women—an additional reason Spelman supporters did not wish their students to engage in domestic work for whites. Then too, given their opinion that the heritage of slavery had "degraded" black family life, the teachers may not have trusted students to resist sexual temptation or the lure of lower class black culture surrounding these young women when they left their protected campus. Strict rules, codes, and carefully governed behavior administered by Christian teachers would pave the way for the formation of a temperate and chaste black middle class.

It is not easy to determine how Spelman women felt about their school, their teachers, and their education. We have ample evidence of white student resistance to institutional attempts to control or confine their activities and behavior through the publications and other documents they left behind. In contrast, virtually no traces remain of Spelman campus life as experienced by students. The lack of documentary evidence on student-inititated activities is, in itself, interesting. Does this missing link suggest that Spelman students faced sterner penalties for resisting rules than white students did; that they did not have time, given the press of work, study, and prayer to form an alternative student life; that they agreed with the goals and restrictions set by white teachers and missionaries; or simply that the appropriate archival records have been lost?[29]

One hypothesis, arising from meager existing sources, is that Spelman students worked hard for their education, appreciated the opportunities offered by the seminary, and were devoted to the earliest generation of white missionary teachers, especially Sophia Packard, Harriet Giles, and Lucy Upton. Students, however, transformed the missionaries' rhetoric about Christianity, social service, and women's responsibility for "race uplift" into an egalitarian philosophy of race and gender relations. When the second generation of teachers, led by Principal Lucy Hale Tapley, dominated Spelman between 1910 and 1927, alumnae complained that the seminary was no longer fulfilling either its explicit or implicit promises.[30]

For African-American women in the early twentieth century, Spelman Seminary represented a haven from a society where most whites did not believe blacks had the capacity for academic and professional work. In June 1896, *The Spelman Messenger* reprinted an article from *The Atlanta Journal* in which a white woman described her shock that her maid, a Spelman student, used her free hours to study nursing. As late as 1961, in her history of the college, former president Florence M. Read (1927-1953) commented: "...the fact remains that when white Southerners in general think or speak of Negroes, they usually have in mind the dishwashers, street-cleaners, janitors, ditch-diggers that they see—those on the lowest level of employment—or even the loafers.[31]

In the early years, close faculty-student relationships, and pride in alumnae achievements characterized Spelman Seminary. Principals and teachers recorded the names of graduates from 1887 through 1914 in three large ledgers. The ledgers included additional information about their occupations, husbands' occupations, status as homeowners, number of children, and general comments about their character and lifestyles. Teachers could not have compiled such an extensive record without alumnae co-operation and interest. Graduates wrote to the faculty regularly, and filled out surveys about their teaching positions, marital status, and other accomplishments. Successful alumnae were much admired and discussed on campus. *The Spelman Messenger* frequently published alumnae news, and the graduates often returned to campus to talk with students and teachers. Graduates who became African missionaries received the greatest amount of attention and interest. *The Spelman Messenger* printed letters from the Congo written by Spelman alumnae missionaries. Students formed groups to raise money for African missions, and to send clothing to children adopted by Spelman missionaries. When alumnae missionaries Clara Howard and Nora Gordon fell ill in the Congo, they returned to Spelman to recover before going back to Africa.[32]

Letters from students and alumnae to Harriet Giles also demonstrated their continuing affection for her:

> Your patience with me has helped me. I really feel ashamed that you have had to use your strength and time on me in the way you have....Will you pray for me that I may have the strength and courage to do always the things that are pleasing to the Father....

> My heart and mind is with you and *loved* Spelman, very often, and don't want you to ever feel that I have lost interest or love my dear school less because of silence. I love to meditate on them--think of the splendid young girls and devoted teachers who were so helpful to me.

A former student in Hampton, Georgia, who had to walk twelve miles, round-trip, between her home and the school where she taught, wrote:

> I here assure you that I entertain the deepest feeling of love and gratitude for you, and since it has always been hard for me to make expressions of such feelings in words, I hope someday to be placed in a position to express my gratitude in action.

Other graduates confided in Giles. Ella Knox, a teacher, said that she wanted to return to Spelman to study printing, music, and missionary work. She said that she was "yet pure, thank God," and asked Giles for advice about furthering her education. Adella L. Phyman wrote a rapturous letter about her engagement: "I thought it best to wait until I saw him before visiting you, so that I might be able to tell you everything. He came with the sole purpose of settling something definite as to our marriage. We have decided to be married this winter, and I am very happy, Miss Giles."[33]

After Harriet Giles's death in 1909, and the interim leadership of Lucy Upton (1909-1910), Lucy Hale Tapley became principal, and a less congenial spirit pervaded the campus. Unfortunately, records from this critical period in the seminary's history have either not survived or not yet been located, but some evidence exists that Tapley's administration subverted the purposes of her predecessors. Although she failed to change the curriculum significantly, in view of the seminary's long-standing commitment to become a liberal arts college, Tapley alienated an important segment of Spelman women.

In February 1921, nine members of the Spelman Graduates' Club of Atlanta sent a four-page letter to ABHMS and the WBHMS. The first page affirmed the alumnae's loyalty to Spelman, "...our dear Mother," the school "...to which we ourselves owe so much...." After praying and conferring together, however, the women concluded that Spelman ought to have more black trustees and faculty. They pointed out that black teachers received lower salaries than white teachers of the same rank. Furthermore, they said, Spelman students were not encouraged to take the college course which would prepare them to teach above the elementary level. The northern missionary teachers were inexperienced and unprepared. These new missionary teachers had an attitude toward their teaching which was "inharmonious with what is supposed to be the spirit and purpose of the institution." Unlike Packard, Giles, and the teachers of their day, the new staff did not get to know the students or get "...close to the heart of our people."

"Aloofness," they said, "seems to be the watchword given as a teacher's guide both on the campus and off. We cannot believe that teaching under such circumstances is as effectual as teaching is intended to be." Colored physicians, the alumnae complained, were not allowed on the staff of Spelman's hospital, and colored visitors were not treated as well as whites. These graduates also felt that the school no longer took an interest in their lives and careers, and did not welcome their visits to campus. Discipline at Spelman, particularly the inspection of students' mail, was repressive and restrictive, not allowing students to develop self-control and initiative in setting boundaries for their own social lives.[34]

Charles L. White, executive secretary of the ABHMS, sent a copy of the letter to Dr. Wallace Buttrick of the General Education Board, the philanthrophic foundation organized by the Rockefeller family, which contributed regularly to Spelman. Although White told Tapley that the alumnae letter was "...but one expression of the nationalistic spirit that is abroad which is manifesting itself among racial groups in various ways," Buttrick disagreed. He urged Tapley to look upon the criticism as an opportunity to improve Spelman. The time had come, he said, to do things "*with* the Negroes and not chiefly *for* them."[35]

Tapley reacted angrily to the letter, and on April 18, 1921, offered her own and her staff's resignation to the trustees. Not wishing, perhaps, to put the seminary through a major upheaval, when collegiate status and a new president were only a few years away, Buttrick visited Atlanta to pour oil upon the troubled waters. Together with the Spelman Alumnae Association (a national organization, in contrast to the Atlanta-based Spelman Graduates' Club), Buttrick calmed Tapley, and persuaded her to stay on. The Alumnae Association agreed to present criticisms to Tapley personally and openly. Unfortunately, no records survive about the on-going relationship (if, indeed, one was established) between Tapley and the Alumnae Association.[36]

Differences between Tapley and previous principals may have had more to do with changing times and differing personalities than with ideals about race relations; Packard and Giles, after all, had not openly preached equality, and had also imposed a stern discipline on the students. Yet the alumnae, as students, apparently experienced from the earlier missionaries a warm and loving, if maternalistic, spirit of interest in themselves and their people. More important, they had translated Packard's and Giles's ideals into a vision of racial equality among like-minded Christian middle class women. They expected Tapley to hire or appoint African-American trustees, teachers and doctors for the seminary, and to treat them as she did her white staff—for were they not all engaged in the same Christian educational endeavor?

Other black women of this era also believed that education, middle class status, and their mission of race uplift gave them common cause with like-minded white women, removing barriers to equality. Although primarily interested in working within their own communities, they saw possibilities for an interracial women's reform coalition in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a time when suffrage and other women's rights activities reached new heights and captured much public attention. Through such a coalition they hoped, not only to provide service to black communities, but to challenge such practices as lynching and disenfranchisement.

Race Uplift and the Fight Against Racism: Educated Black Women: 1890-1930

Spelman alumnae, perhaps from principle, or perhaps overwhelmed by expectations and obligations, may have agreed with Selena Sloan Butler '88, married and a mother, who argued that social reform institutions would be unnecessary if every woman stayed at home to care properly for her children. Butler, however, did not follow her own advice. She was a civic leader, founder of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, delegate to the founding convention of the National Association of Colored Women, and member of the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation--in short, the ideal Spelman alumna.[37]

Most alumnae did not become as prominent as Butler, but on the whole they seem to have followed her example rather than her advice. Of the 139 alumnae, for example, listed in the principals' ledger for 1900-1907, 107 were teaching, many continuing to work after marriage; ten were nurses, two were doctors, and 76 were married. Eighty-five did some form of volunteer Christian work, such as temperance or Sunday school teaching. Although most of our knowledge about their activities comes from the records of urban organizations, Spelman women also tried to meet the educational, religious, and cultural needs of rural black communities.[38]

Even during their student days, Spelman women came into contact with prominent black women and African-American organizations. Many strong connections, for example, existed between the black colleges and local black churches. A Women's Mission Band from Georgia's black Baptist churches raised money for Spelman. Members of local and national WCTU, YWCA, social purity, and missionary societies visited Spelman to encourage the formation of campus chapters and enlist post-graduate commitment to their work. In 1916 the YWCA began holding national conferences for black students on the Spelman campus. At these conferences students read the Bible together, discussed future careers, and participated in sessions on missionary and social service work.[39]

Between the late nineteenth century and World War I, educated African-American women established structures to engage in Atlanta's civic and community affairs. In 1908, Lugenia Burns Hope founded the Neighborhood Union. Hope was the wife of Morehouse and future Atlanta University president John Hope, and herself an occasional member of the Spelman faculty. The Neighborhood Union brought black women's civic, reform, charitable, and educational activities under one organizational umbrella. It focused on the needs of Atlanta's children, and established orphanages, day nurseries, and kindergartens. The members of the Neighborhood Union successfully campaigned to raise the salaries of black teachers, and to prevent Atlanta's black schools from dropping the literary course after the sixth grade. With the help of Spelman alumnae Carrie Dukes and Ludie Clay Andrews (the first black registered nurse in the state of Georgia), Neighborhood Union members participated in public and preventive health campaigns, taught classes on sanitation in the home, and cleaned up vacant lots so that children might have safe playgrounds. In 1915 the Union purchased a settlement house, which quickly became a community center for Atlanta blacks. In Lugenia Hope's words, the Union succeeded because "...the home was the basis of a people's development. Here fundamental lessons of system, thrift, law, and sacrifices are learned, and each community should try to bring its people together that they may discuss and apply these principles."[40]

Regionally and nationally, educated black women also made their presence felt. In the 1880s and 1890s black Baptist women in the South began forming their own separate conventions, inspired, in part, by the gender ideology of northern white Baptist women. In 1900, the Woman's Convention was established as an auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention. Evelyn Brooks's history of this movement shows the importance of college-educated women in establishing the conventions, formulating feminist theology, and encouraging the practice, among African-American Baptists, of social gospel evangelical Christianity in their communities.[41]

In 1896, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, similar in structure and purpose to the whites' General Federation of Women's Clubs, emerged as the primary secular representative of black women's organizational skills and activities. Under the leadership of Oberlin-educated Mary Church Terrell, who presided over the group from 1896-1901, and her successors, the NACW took as its motto "lifting as we climb," serving as the apex of a pyramid that included local and state black women's clubs.[42]

Through their participation in these single sex groups, and their fights to provide services, defend the rights, and enhance the dignity of black communities, educated black women repeatedly challenged the white racist power structure. They also worked as members of the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), organizations their missionary teachers did not support, for explicitly political causes. Black women were most active in the NAACP's Committee of Anti-Lynching Crusades. Founded in 1922, the Committee successfully promoted the passage of anti-lynching statutes; by 1925 thirteen states, including Alabama and Tennessee, had such laws.[43]

Some white women, such as Jane Addams and other progressive reformers, joined the NAACP and the NACW, hoping to advance the idea that all women shared commitments to social service and justice. For the most part, however, the "bonds of womanhood" did not bring the races together. Whites at Spelman may have been ambivalent about racial equality, but the world beyond the seminary's gates proved actively hostile to interracial sisterhood. In her history of Atlanta women's organizations between 1890-1940, Darlene R. Roth stated that Victorian definitions of motherhood required women to act, through the relationship with their children, as the preservers and defenders of race and culture. Thus the ideology of domesticity and motherhood, a potential bond among all women, may have actually worked against the establishment of interracial sisterhood between middle class educated black and white women. Yet just as Spelman alumnae had challenged their alma mater in the early 1920s to live up to and extend its ideals, so educated African-American women attempted, usually unsuccessfully, to work with white women for the common social good.[44]

Atlanta's black women were forced to create a completely separate and parallel network of clubs and organizations, because of the impossibility of gaining admission to white women's groups. During the 1895 Cotton Exposition, white women had their own building and exhibits, while black women participated only in the Negro Building. Despite the local popularity of such Christian organizations as the WCTU and the YWCA among both races, white women spurned the possibility of working with blacks except as objects of charity. Only with the advent of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the 1920s, did serious, although limited, attempts at women's interracial solidarity take place in the South.[45]

Nor did the common causes of black and white womanhood fare well nationally, with the few exceptions noted above. In 1900, James M. Taylor, the Baptist president of Vassar College, told Harriet Giles that she could not expect a Vassar-Spelman connection to develop: "I should not recommend a colored girl to come here, not because she would not be well treated, because I know she would, but because in a large body of young people there are sure to be those who would object to her presence, and who would create some discomfort for her...." Although Vassar would not accept blacks, Wellesley and Mount Holyoke, with their evangelical Christian orientations, uneasily admitted a small number of African-American women. Barnard College's first black student was Zora Neale Hurston, admitted and sponsored by an insistent Jewish trustee in the early 1920s.[46]

The two national women's organizations of greatest interest to black women—the WCTU and the YWCA—had separate departments and staff for "colored work." WCTU president Frances Willard, who refused to denounce lynching, became an apologist for southern racism. Suffragists did not invite the participation of black women in their societies, fearing that it would antagonize southern white women. Even the radical Alice Paul, leader of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party, whose militancy brought about the passage of the 19th Amendment, preferred to snub black feminists rather than confront the racial issue. Ironically, none of the southern electorates, whose good will the national suffrage organizations so anxiously cultivated, passed woman suffrage before 1920 and the advent of the Nineteenth Amendment.[47]

Conclusion: The Bonds of African-American Womanhood

Bearing the dual burden of gender and race on their backs, in the early twentieth century educated African-American women believed they had two natural allies in the fight against racism--middle class white women, and educated black men. Yet as we have seen, even the tightly-knit women's community at Spelman achieved maternalism rather than sisterhood. And outside of Spelman and other black colleges, whites rarely attempted interracial co-operation.

The evidence on gender relations within the black community is complex and not yet sufficiently researched by scholars of African-American history. Ideas about female distinctiveness, and a special, separate sphere of activity appropriate for women achieved wide popularity among educated African-Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As W. E. B. DuBois told Spelman students in 1902, black women had three important duties to perform: 1) to bear and raise children; 2) to practice homemaking as a spiritual occupation designed to build a foundation for life; and 3) to provide social leadership.[48]

Some historians have argued that sharp gender distinctions did not rise naturally from African-American culture, but represented impositions by northern white teachers, eager to reproduce their own mores and norms. They maintain that such ideas led to the categorization of middle class black women as teachers and community servants, while black men were educated for leadership and more prestigious and lucrative professions. As early as 1892, in her well-known book, *A Voice From the South*, the African-American writer Anna J. Cooper criticized black men for failing to support the higher education of black women. Cooper claimed that as black male leaders sought wealth, influence, and positions of leadership, they emulated whites in believing that women should assume roles subordinate to men.[49]

Spelman students and other educated black women of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries lived in a society offering them few options and fewer strategies to achieve them. Many accepted the ideas about distinctive womanhood, the attainment of middle class status, and community service promulgated by their teachers. In so doing, however, they extended and even transformed such ideas into arguments for equality and power, discomfiting white women and occasionally black men.

Ultimately race proved a more powerful force than either class or gender, in defining the limits of social reform through higher education. Yet educated black women, at least through the 1920s, did not constitute an aloof and privileged "black bourgeoisie," but an activist and accomplished group, successfully meeting the needs of their people on many different levels. Their history re-affirms the importance of studying the experiences of students, and particularly of understanding the ways individuals or groups re-interpret the meaning of their education while they are on campus, and during their post-graduate lives. The time may also be at hand for a new historical analysis of the black middle class's role in twentieth century African-American society, one including women and issues of gender within and outside of the black community.[50]

NOTES

When I began the research for this paper, in summer, 1981, Dr. Donald Stewart, then the president of Spelman College, kindly gave me permission to work in the college's archives. At that time the archives consisted of a single small room with large cabinets and file drawers, all filled with uncatalogued and unsorted material. Spelman faculty and staff, particularly Argent Gibson, Professor Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and Jo Moore Stewart, helped me locate important sources and begin to make sense of them, conveying their excitement about the college's history and its centennial celebration. In June 1987, the National Women's Studies Association held its annual conference at Spelman, which I attended as the delegate of the University of Rochester's Susan B. Anthony Center for Women's Studies. During this conference I did additional research, finding that the archives had been moved to more commodious quarters, and organized, under the skillful and dedicated direction of Archivist Brenda Banks, a Spelman alumna. I am especially grateful to Ms. Banks for her help, and for her generosity in spending extra hours in the archives so that I could get my work done during the limited time I had available. I share her hope that the archives can find financial support to extend and preserve this important collection. Materials on the protest of Spelman alumnae in the early 1920s came from the Rockefeller Archives, North Tarrytown, New York.

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1. Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Jo Moore Stewart, eds., *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration, 1881-1981* (Atlanta, Ga.: Spelman College, 1981). Frankie Quarles Johnson Young, class of 1902, was the daughter of Reverend Frank Quarles, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, whose aid was instrumental in founding the seminary. Not only Frankie Quarles, but her mother, daughter, grand-daughters, and great grand-daughters attended Spelman Seminary and Spelman College (p. 114).

2. Excellent sources for the world views and values of the missionaries are James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); McPherson, "The New Puritanism: Values and Goals of Freedmen's Education in America," in Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974); and Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1973* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). None of this work, however, focuses on the goals of black women's higher education. Material describing and discussing the missionaries' intentions in the latter area may be found in *The Spelman Messenger*, a monthly newsletter sent to students, alumnae, donors, and WABHMS members (most issues available in the Spelman College Archives, Atlanta, Georgia). For discussion of Victorian white women's separate and special social roles, sometimes extending to reform and political involvement see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977) and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, Il.: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

3. For positive interpretations of African-American culture in slavery and freedom see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1790-1925* (New York, 1976); Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), and Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). For an assessment of black urban communities in the late nineteenth century, see Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (Urbana, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1980). On Georgia: John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era* (Urbana, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1977) and August Meier and David Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1958," *Journal of Negro Education* 28 (Spring, 1959), 128-139. Critiques of northern philanthropy, black colleges, or more generally of the black middle class include the classic E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of A New Middle Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1957); James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1865-1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Anderson, "Philanthropic Control Over Private Black Higher Education," in Robert F. Arnove, ed., *Philanthropy and Cultural*

Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982): 146-177. For a different view of late nineteenth and early twentieth century black college graduates, see W.E.B. DuBois, ed. *The College-Bred Negro* (Atlanta, Ga.: Atlanta University Press, 1900); Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), and, about the post-World War II era, Earl J. McGrath, *The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1965).

4. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy*; Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*. The books differ slightly in their interpretations. Jones agrees that the missionaries were progressive compared to most other Americans of their day, but refers to the "tragedy of Yankee benevolence" when speaking about their educational work. McPherson recognizes the cultural imperialism practiced by the missionaries, but points to the many permanent schools and colleges they established as the most significant aspect of their work.

5. Paula S. Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990).

6. For an early exception to the absence of black women's experiences from the debate over the middle class and higher education, see Jeanne L. Noble, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1956). In the past few years, scholars have begun to examine the history of black women's education. This new literature focuses largely on primary education and on black women teachers; most material on higher education is in articles, dissertations, or conference presentations. See, for example, Patricia Bell Scott, "Schoolin' Respectable Ladies of Color: Issues in the History of Black Women's Higher Education," *Journal of the NAWDAC* (Winter 1979-1980): 22-28; Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women and Higher Education: Spelman and Bennett Colleges Revisited," *Journal of Negro Education*, 5, no. 3 (1982): 278-87; Linda M. Perkins, "The Black Female Talented Tenth: The Foundation of the National Association of College Women: 1910-1954," paper delivered at the conference of the History of Education Society, Columbia University, New York, October 1987; and Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," *Journal of Social Issues*, 39, no. 3 (1983), 17-28. See also the *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 51, Summer 1982 - a special issue on black women's education; Florence Fleming Corley, "Higher Education for Southern Women: Four Church-Related Women's Colleges in Georgia: Agnes Scott, Shorter, Spelman, and Wesleyan, 1900-1920," Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 1985. Although not primarily about higher education, the following works have significant discussions on the subject: Evelyn Brooks, "The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1984), Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Daughters of Sorrow: Attitudes Toward Black Women: 1880-1920," (Ph.D. dissertation., Emory University, 1984); Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

7. Linda M. Perkins, "Black Higher Education and Co-Education," talk delivered at Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Celebration, April 1982; Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women and Higher Education: Spelman and Bennett Colleges Re-visited."

8. Henry L. Morehouse, speech printed in *The Spelman Messenger*, January 1902.

9. Historians have documented many accounts of Victorian professional women living and working together as couples and families; one of the best is Patricia A. Palmieri, "In Adamless Eden: A Social Portrait of the Academic Community at Wellesley College, 1875-1920," (Ed.D. dissertation., Harvard University, 1981). This discussion of Sophia Packard, Harriet E. Giles, and the early years of the seminary comes from: Florence M.

Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Read, "Sophia B. Packard," in *Notable American Women*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 2-4; Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, eds., *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration*; and Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women and Higher Education: Spelman and Bennett Colleges Re-visited." Read's history is particularly interesting; the typescript of her manuscript is in the Spelman College Archives, and sometimes contains material not in the published book. Unfortunately, the book has no footnotes, and only a limited bibliography. Read clearly had access to sources that can no longer be located and re-evaluated.

10. Read, *Story of Spelman*, 24-27.

11. Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, eds., *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration*, 13; Read, *Story of Spelman*, 42-52.

12. Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration*, 13-21; Read, *Story of Spelman*, 52-63.

13. Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration*, 22-25; Read, *Story of Spelman*, 64-86.

14. See especially the annual Founders' Day issues of *The Spelman Messenger*, in honor of Founders' Day.

15. Granderson taught at Spelman from 1902 until her death in 1905. Claudia White (Harreld) was an active alumna until her death in 1952. She taught school, became the second president of the Alumnae Association, and later president of the Gate City Day Nursery Association; Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, 18. For descriptions of Spelman's curriculum, see *Catalogue of Spelman Seminary*, 1892-1893 and other years, Spelman College Archives.

16. Students may have performed domestic work for whites during school vacations, but the industrial work at Spelman was designed to help black women run their own homes. See, for example, letter from Thomas J. Morgan of the ABHMS to Harriet E. Giles, January 18, 1901, Spelman College Archives: "I am slow to favor any scheme which will encourage the idea that Spelman exists for the purpose of providing domestic servants, and that the vast outlay of money made there by us is to accrue to the special benefit of Southern people whose highest opinion of the Negro is that of a faithful servant." In the same letter, Morgan told Giles that he wanted domestic science students to undertake literary studies as well. I found and xeroxed this letter, uncatalogued, in the Spelman College Archives during my 1981 visit, but was not able to re-locate it in 1987.

17. Henry L. Morehouse, speech printed in *The Spelman Messenger*, June 1896; see also his speech at the dedication of Giles Hall, *The Spelman Messenger*, January 1894.

18. "Spelman in Africa, Africa in Spelman," undated, Spelman College Archives. *The Spelman Messenger* frequently carried articles on African history and culture. See also, Corley, "Higher Education for Southern Women," 238.

19. Read, *Story of Spelman*, 190-209; *Historical Sketch and General Catalogue 1881-1921* (Atlanta: Spelman Seminary), 15. Although Florence M. Read, Spelman College's first president, and author of its history, was quite emphatic about Tapley's educational views, no independent archival evidence exists to corroborate her account. Unfortunately no records at all from Tapley's principalship are currently in the archives, although the college's archivist hopes they may one day be located.

20. Sophia B. Packard quoted by Miss Barrett, a former Spelman Seminary teacher, during memorial service for Miss Packard at Tremont Temple, Boston, in *The Spelman Messenger*, November 1891. See also, *The Spelman Messenger*, April 1906.

21. See "Graduates' Corner" in *The Spelman Messenger*; also, specific issues on homemaking and domestic science (May 1917); marriages of women doctors and missionaries (December 1912); letters to and from Spelman's African missionaries and accounts of their visits to Spelman, their personal lives, and, eventually, their deaths.

22. Mrs. M.C. Reynolds, "Providential Leadings," *The Spelman Messenger*, April 1902.

23. For information on white women's conflicts between family obligations and higher education, see Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, especially the chapter on Sophie Newcomb College (New Orleans) and Agnes Scott College (Decatur, Georgia), and Joyce Antler, "After College, What? New Graduates and the Family Claim," *American Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1980): 409-34.

24. Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration*, 36.

25. Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 48. Information about Spelman's clubs and organizations may be found in every issue of *The Spelman Messenger*. Neither the Spelman College Archives nor Morehouse College has pre-1920s copies of *The Athenaeum*. On my research trip in 1981 I found a scrap (literally) of paper containing a draft of a message from Spelman women working on *The Athenaeum* to their Morehouse colleagues. The women were protesting the men's attempts to dominate the publication. Information on the Eumonean Society is from Corley, 269-276.

26. *Catalogue of Spelman Seminary, 1920-1921*; "Rules for Visitors," no date, Spelman College Archives.

27. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1950s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era;* Amy Thompson McCandless, "Preserving the Pedestal: Restrictions on Social Life at Southern Colleges for Women, 1920-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 7 (1987): 45-67.

28. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy*, 410-416; Corley, 134; Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, 55. By 1937, black faculty at Spelman College outnumbered whites two to one.

29. Corley states (pp. 107-108) that Spelman students were too terrified to break the rules, although it is not clear what evidence she has for such a statement.

30. Similar disillusionments occurred at other black colleges and universities in the 1920s. See Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975).

31. Read, *Story of Spelman*, 372-373.

32. In addition to alumnae letters printed in *The Spelman Messenger*, the Spelman College Archives contains questionnaires mailed to graduates, some replies, and correspondence between the principals and their former students, all uncatalogued. Stewart and Guy-Sheftall, 94-115. Discussion of the special role played by alumnae at white women's colleges may be found in Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, chapter on Vassar College.

33. "Early Student Letters to Miss Giles, 1882-1906," Cabinet 3, Spelman College Archives. On my second visit in 1987, these letters could no longer be located.

34. Letter signed by nine members of the Spelman Graduates' Club, Atlanta, Georgia to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society, the President and Dean of Spelman Seminary, February 12, 1921; General Education Board Papers, Box 40, folder 364; Rockefeller Archives, North Tarrytown, New York.

35. Wallace Buttrick to Dr. Charles L. White, February 28, 1921; Charles L. White to Lucy Hale Tapley, February 23, 1921; Wallace Buttrick to Dr. George Rice Hovey, March 29, 1921; GEB Papers, Box 40, folder 364.

36. Lucy Hale Tapley to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, April 11, 1921; Wallace Buttrick to Lucy Hale Tapley, May 16, 1921; Lucy Hale Tapley, Edith V. Brill, and Angie E. Kendall to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, Dr. Charles L. White, and Mrs. Katherine S. Westfall, April 8, 1921; Spelman Alumnae Association to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, April 27, 1921; Report of Dr. Wallace Buttrick, submitted February 18, 1922; GEB Papers, Box 40, folder 364.

37. Selena Sloan Butler '88, "Woman's Highest Calling," *The Spelman Messenger*. November 1905; Darlene R. Roth, "Selena Sloan Butler," *Notable American Women*, vol. 4, 127-129.

38. These figures are based on my own counting of the names, occupations, etc. listed in the three alumnae ledgers. At the time of my first research trip in 1981, one of these ledgers was part of a public display in honor of Spelman's centennial; the other two were in the archives. In 1987, only one of these ledgers was still in the archives.

39. Darlene Rebecca Roth, "Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation., George Washington University, 1978), chapter two; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 139-163.

40. Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 145-162.

41. Brooks, "The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church," especially chapters three and four.

42. Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 191-201.

43. Ibid., 223-226.

44. Roth, 89.

45. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 226-233.

46. James M. Taylor to Harriet E. Giles, December 31, 1900; "Racial Matters" file, Spelman College Archives. I found and xeroxed this letter in 1981, and could not re-locate it in 1987; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*; Gordon, "Annie Nathan Meyer and Barnard College: Mission and Identity in Women's Higher Education, 1889-1950," *History of Education Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1986): 503-22.

47. Aileen S. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); Linda M. Perkins, "Black Feminism and Race Uplift, 1890-1900," unpublished paper, courtesy of author; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement, 1830-1920," in Harley and

Terborg-Penn, eds., *The Afro-American Woman* (Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1978); Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 202-207.

48. W.E.B. DuBois, "The Work of Negro Women in Society," *The Spelman Messenger*, February 1902; quoted in in Roth, 87.

49. Anna J. Cooper, *A Voice From the South by a Black Woman of the South* (Xenia, Ohio: Aldine Printing Company, 1892). For various views of this issue, see James Oliver Horton, "Freedom's Yoke: Gender Conventions Among Antebellum Free Blacks," *Feminist Studies* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 51-76; Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women;" Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 58-68; Guy-Sheftall, "Daughters of Sorrow."

50. Frazier's study of the black middle class has almost nothing to say about women. Yet transcripts of interviews with prominent black women of the twentieth century show strong connections between higher education and social and political activism continuing into the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. (Transcripts for the Black Women's Oral History Project are located both at Columbia University and at the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts).

Promoting "Responsible Freedom": Administrators and Social Fraternities at the University of Illinois, 1900-1931

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DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY twentieth centuries college and university social fraternities led a tenuous existence. Many university administrators, alumni, and citizens believed that fraternities fostered drinking, gambling, poor scholarship, undemocratic attitudes, and sexual immorality among students.[1] In 1913, alone, the Interfraternity Conference, a national advisory body composed of leading educators and fraternity members, reported investigations of fraternities at Ohio State University, the University of Texas, the University of Minnesota, the University of Kansas, and the University of Wisconsin.[2] But most schools eventually chose not to repress fraternities because they provided valuable housing and eating facilities, and "nothing would answer half as well the student love of companionship, and his intense need of some sort of home life." Supporters and opponents nonetheless knew that students could eventually be housed in dormitories. To survive fraternities had to, as one commentator put it, "'show cause' for existence."[3]

Fraternity supporters found their "apostle Paul" in Thomas Arkle Clark, the first dean of men in the United States. Clark served as dean of men at the University of Illinois from 1901 to 1931.[4] Next to Harold "Red" Grange, Clark was the best known Illini of his era. His extraordinarily long tenure in office spanned the careers of four University of Illinois presidents, and made him a virtual institution at Illinois.[5] Supporters admired Clark because he "perhaps more than any other man...determined the attitudes of faculties toward students and of students toward faculties."[6] Clark tirelessly promoted the utility of fraternities to university administrators, and he was Educational Advisor to the Interfraternity Conference from 1920 (when the position was created) until his death in July 1932. Clark, his supporters added, made "rich contributions to the literature of college and fraternity life," and through his "prestige and wide acquaintance...many a fellow dean or faculty man was...helped to a better understanding of [the] ambitions and aspirations" of fraternities.[7]

Clark told his administrator colleagues that fraternities were an ally—not an enemy—of a university. He admitted that "fraternities and fraternity men can easily be found that illustrate the charges of extravagance and dissipation, and snobbishness, and loafing," but he attributed these faults to the youth of college men in general, not to fraternities. Clark optimistically believed that "the undergraduate student is on the whole a fair-minded, reasonable being, who is not beyond control, [and] who wants generally to do right." Fraternities were not to blame for the sins of youth, as fraternity opponents claimed. Clark instead blamed indifferent faculty members who possessed little sympathy for "student matters" and exercised insufficient "student discipline and control" (precisely, in Clark's opinion, because of their antipathy towards fraternities).[8]

During Clark's tenure, the University's enrollment grew from 1,214 to 10,455 undergraduate students. Fraternities expanded along with the University.[9] In 1901 the 12 fraternities had only 250 male student members, but fraternity membership more than tripled in the next four years. By 1930, 2,771 male students (over 38 percent of male undergraduates) lived in 91 fraternities.[10] Clark supported fraternities because they provided housing and because they occupied the center of student life.[11] Fraternity members were influential students who established standards in "clothes, speech, amusements, and attitudes" that other students emulated.[12] Fraternities, moreover, developed the "best possibilities of manhood" within college youth.[13] Fraternity principles, Clark said, were "high principles...drawn directly from Jesus Christ." If followed, these principles "would recreate every young fellow's life."[14]

Fraternities transcended school, class, and economic divisions. The University of Illinois, where one-quarter of the students came from farming backgrounds and the remainder came from middle-class professional homes, needed such a centralizing force.[15] The "natural tendency for young people, and especially for young men, to join more or less closely into groups for the furtherance and the development of mutual interests," was, Clark believed, "a tendency which we should expect and foster in college as elsewhere."[16] Fraternities allowed administrators to establish norms of conduct for housing, social activities, male-female relations, and scholarship. Fraternities continued to espouse hedonistic and anti-intellectual attitudes, but administrator oversight transformed them into a force that promoted unity and conformity among the student body. Without administrative control, fraternities had been divisive and confrontational.[17]

Clark's involvement with fraternities exemplifies how "new" university administrators dealt with the consequences of expanding student populations. The press, the public, and state legislatures that provided funding for public higher education criticized student hazing, dishonesty, drinking, gambling, and excessive "rowdyism."[18] Universities, therefore, had to pay "attention to the physical welfare of students as well as to their intellectual and character development" and to revert to the paternalism that characterized English colleges.[19] Developments in the personnel guidance movement strengthened these tendencies. Professional educators influenced by progressive educational theory and Freudian psychology held colleges and universities responsible not only for students' intellectual development but also for their physical, social, and emotional growth.[20] New-found concern for student health, student housing, intramural sports, and social activities, required universities to hire new administrators, including deans, health officers, and athletic directors, to direct programs and enforce regulations.

The dean of men's office at Illinois, for instance, grew out of President Andrew Draper's desire for more discipline among students. Since the University's founding in 1867, the president was officially responsible for the welfare and conduct of students. But Draper's duties allowed him to "only faintly keep in touch with student life." In June, 1901 Draper appointed Clark, a popular rhetoric professor and the acting dean of the college of Literature and Arts, to the deanship of undergraduates.[21] At first, Clark functioned primarily as a part-time assistant to the president. But Clark's adept handling of a rapidly expanding list of duties gained him a national reputation for directing and guiding students. In November, 1908 Stanford University invited Clark to become its dean of men. But Clark used Stanford's offer to consolidate his power at Illinois. Clark received a sizable salary increase, and a new title: dean of men. He would henceforth supervise undergraduate men "in all matters relating to their conduct, discipline, class attendance, health, living conditions, social and political activities, and general welfare." When the well-liked Clark announced his intention to stay at Illinois, students celebrated by holding a mass meeting and smoker in the University armory.[22]

Clark's new agreement also removed him from responsibility for supervising female undergraduates. The dean of women's office, organized in 1897, was technically under Clark's control. But Clark lacked enthusiasm when dealing with women students and felt ill suited toward disciplining them. Unlike men, who were forthright about their own guilt if not that of their friends, women would "from sheer nervousness or terror...often tell the most palpable untruths."[23]

Clark's attitude toward female students was undoubtedly tempered by the response to his one initiative toward sororities. In 1907, Clark decided that sororities should discourage their members from becoming engaged while still in school, and he visited sorority houses to give "lengthy talks on the subject." Sorority members apparently viewed Clark's efforts with some amusement and delighted in telling Clark that the maid was the only girl engaged at their house. Needless to say, engagements continued to occur regularly among sorority members.[24]

Despite Clark's lack of interest, sororities developed along similar lines to fraternities. Kappa Alpha Theta formed the first national sorority chapter at Illinois in 1895, a quarter-century after the University began admitting women. At the turn of the century, the five existing sororities had 57 members (approximately 20 percent of all female students) and by the mid 1920s about one-quarter of the female student body belonged to some thirty-six sororities. During the early twentieth century sororities provided housing for about 20 percent of female undergraduates. This number grew to 37 percent in 1930.[25]

The dean of women's office, however, never supported sororities with the vigor Clark gave to fraternities, possibly because the office changed hands regularly. Violet DeLille Jayne, the first dean of women, helped organize the Panhellenic league in 1901. Jayne's successor, Eunice Daniels, was another strong sorority supporter. Shortly before World War I, however acting dean Martha Kyle openly disapproved of sororities because she believed members socialized more than they studied. Dean Kyle encouraged sorority houses to locate in Urbana, as far away as possible from the fraternity houses in Champaign—a pattern that still exists at Illinois.[26] Dean Ruby Mason (1918-1923) regularly interviewed chaperones to uncover any moral improprieties, but her heavy-handed tactics alienated female students.

College faculties and the public expected deans such as Clark or Mason "to maintain a high morale, perfect behavior, moral standards of the highest sort, and an ideal sort of campus on which nothing out of the way occurs"—that is, to cultivate an attitude of "responsible freedom" among students.[27] Successful administrators solved this "administrative problem" by maintaining firm control without appearing overly domineering.[28] Fraternities possessed clear and freely-accepted sets of ideals and codes of conduct, that deans invoked to punish unacceptable student behavior.

Fraternities, maintained their supporters, embodied the highest aspirations of college men. A 1916 report to the Interfraternity Conference, by its Committee on Organizations Antagonistic to Fraternity Ideals claimed that fraternities encompassed "all that makes for social and civic uprightness, education, culture, and refinement." "Irrespective of all else," the committee wrote, the fraternity was "the expression of loyalty, devotion, and cohesiveness."[29]

Other administrators echoed these sentiments. In 1924, University of Minnesota Dean Edward E. Nicholson remarked that the fundamental ideals of fraternities were "service to the individual, the group, the fraternity, and the college."[30] Fraternities demanded faithfulness to these ideals, thereby producing, administrators believed, better men, better students, and better citizens. Fraternities, a supporter added, taught the next generation what they "ought to be."[31] The Christian character of fraternities—most evident in the cross, open book, and clasped hands that appeared on many pledge pins—meant "unselfishness, sacrifice, and service for the good of others." Many educators projected similar goals for universities as a whole.[32]

But administrator interest in fraternities stemmed from more than their high ideals and Christian character. As early as 1887, Cornell President Andrew Dixon White suggested that senior fraternity members could assist administrators in disciplining fraternity underclassmen. In 1909, the Interfraternity Conference considered whether college administrators should "ignore or utilize the fraternity." Its committee found that fraternity-administration relations varied widely, but it concluded that many administrators used fraternities "in the broadest way to stimulate the scholarship and the moral and social qualities of men."[33] Five years later, the same committee claimed that most administrators considered fraternities "useful adjuncts in forming and maintaining sound collegiate standards." The Conference saw little need for further work to cultivate this end.[34]

Fraternities were, for Thomas Clark, a "life saver."[35] Clark rejected the notion that education was "an exercise in things that are simply practical." He insisted that education should "prepare a man to live better, to think more accurately, and to meet his obligations to himself and to society."[36] A devout Presbyterian and an ardent Republican, Clark likened himself to a religious worker who sought to improve moral and social conditions by assuring the future well-being of students.[37] The dean of men's office, Clark believed, should ensure that a university produced "men of clean morals, of high ideals, with definite purposes of life...good citizens, men who take responsibility for leadership in the community...who stand for good order and law enforcement, and for better and higher standards of living."[38]

Sororities also espoused a Christian, middle-class code of moral behavior, and their supporters believed that sororities and fraternities fulfilled much the same function. The Panhellenic Creed, adopted by the National Panhellenic Congress in 1908, stated that the goal of sorority life was "not the enjoyment of special privileges, but an opportunity to prepare for wide and wise human service."[39]

Clark claimed that through fraternities he could control and direct student enterprises, student activities, and student thought. Fraternities helped Clark encourage "the right sort of student morals and ideals" because they attracted the best and brightest among the student population.[40] "Few men in any walk of life," Clark declared, "are more capable of idealistic development than the college fraternity man." If a dean and the fraternities had mutual "respect and confidence," the dean's work would be "much happier."[41] The prestige of fraternities forced other students to follow fraternity norms, thus enhancing a dean's authority. A few well-placed fraternity friends enabled a dean at the very least, to keep his finger on the pulse and direction of campus life.[42]

Other deans noted the usefulness of fraternities. Lehigh Dean C. M. McConn claimed fraternities were effective disciplinary agents "because students naturally want to defy authority but not their brothers."[43] J. A. Bursley, dean at the University of Michigan, claimed that fraternities "materially lessened" the difficulties of dealing with large student bodies. "It is much easier to work through these organized groups," Bursley maintained, "than it would be to try to reach every member of them individually."[44] University of Minnesota Dean Edward Nicholson noted that some administrators did not use fraternities to their full advantage, but with "mature direction" fraternities were a "powerful ally" that allowed deans to direct "the energy, loyalty, and thought of an entire student body."[45]

An examination of Clark's disciplinary methods shows how fraternities made a dean's job easier. A personal knowledge of students, Clark believed, allowed a dean to deter violations.[46] A tall, spare, moustached, avuncular figure, Clark had a flair for dress and a knack for gaining students' confidence.[47] He encouraged students to stop in his office and talk. During his early years as dean, he could easily identify most students by name. But as more and more students entered the University, names and faces became more difficult to remember. Consequently Clark began to take pictures of incoming freshmen. Clark supposedly used these pictures—his "rogues gallery"—to write letters of recommendation, but they undoubtedly helped him to identify troublemakers.[48]

But fraternities and other organized groups enabled Clark "to keep in touch with the individual quite as well as was possible when the number of students was less than half as great."[49] Clark visited almost every fraternity house at least twice a year.[50] Fraternities allowed Clark to find out what an individual was doing, "why he is failing, [and] what his weaknesses are." Through fraternities, Clark came to "know very specific things about" large numbers of students.[51]

Clark knew intimate details about students' lives, and faculty members and students suspected him of running a spy system. Clark admitted to having "confidential advisors" in each fraternity chapter with whom he had both official and unofficial communications. These "advisors" allegedly assisted Clark in his quest to improve fraternity scholarship by informing him of problem students. Clark claimed he never used "unofficial" information in an official manner, but he admitted that he found "both these confidants and the fraternities as a whole quite willing to cooperate." He termed the relationship a "helpful one."[52] If any fraternity men developed "bad moral habits," Clark claimed he could always find "some influential upperclassmen in the organization who will take the matter in hand and help correct it."[53]

Clark used his spy system, or at least the appearance of one, to stamp out objectionable student behavior. Clark perceived student drinking to be a problem after World War I. He "called in and interviewed personally all the men whose names I can get" to create the impression that he was "going to look pretty carefully into these things." This perception, Clark claimed, was "a really good opinion to become extant."[54] "It is easy," Clark informed the University president, "for one student to know what others are doing and to talk about it, and through this method irregular conditions soon become known and when they are known can ordinarily be corrected."[55]

Some fraternities apparently enacted rules to suspend or expel any member who acted as a secret accomplice to Clark's infamous "Russian spy system."[56] When the University of Michigan administration employed Clark's methods to curb student drinking, the *Michigan Daily* commented that "we will not sit by, silently consenting, while a childish spy system, made notorious by Dean Clark of Illinois, is used to frighten men and women into being good."[57] Deans interested in controlling unacceptable student behavior valued a few well-placed confidants within fraternities. But Clark and other deans understood that fear of spies was everywhere while spies themselves were not. Appearances were often more important than reality, especially when dealing with unsophisticated and impressionable students. Consequently, Clark never denied the existence of a spy system on campus.[58]

At Illinois, Clark used fraternities to end embarrassing student practices. Hazing was a serious campus-wide problem when Clark started his administrative career in 1901. Upperclassmen subjected freshmen to various indignities, such as having their hair cut, tossing them in the campus stream known as the "Boneyard," or forcing them to run a gauntlet of some sort. Naturally, boys who experienced this humiliation sometimes resisted strongly, and injuries often resulted.

The Illinois legislature outlawed hazing in 1901, and the University encountered severe public criticism for allowing hazing to continue. In 1904, President Edmund James ordered Clark to eliminate the ritual.[59] Clark expelled anyone caught hazing, and he attempted to turn student sentiment against it. In Spring, 1906 Clark sent freshmen a letter urging them to refrain from hazing as sophomores and reminding them of the consequences if they did not. Hazing, nevertheless, continued, and students clubbed and kicked two of Clark's assistants who were investigating a hazing incident.[60] The next year, Clark convinced a number of fraternities to disavow hazing publicly. The situation began to improve, and by 1912, when the University extended the definition of hazing to include persons who mingled with or followed the crowd, Clark considered the situation firmly in hand.[61]

Hazing reappeared as "hell week" in the late twenties, and Clark obtained authority to require all initiation ceremonies to be held within chapter houses. Clark then asked national fraternity officers to help eliminate rituals that encouraged hazing.[62] The role of fraternities in eliminating hazing was, in Clark's opinion, essentially a negative one because fraternities were "only to a very limited degree engaged in it." Clark thought fraternities were most helpful by "their failure as organizations to participate actively in the practice," but he did appreciate "the active work which many of the leading fraternity men did in opposition to hazing."[63] Clark failed to eliminate "hell week" entirely, but the new regulation concerning initiation and his appeal to national fraternity officers reassured the public that the University would not passively tolerate such incidents.

Hazing damaged the University's reputation as a cultivator of responsible citizens. So did the existence of secret or "sub-rosa" fraternity organizations.[64] Clark's fight against Theta Nu Epsilon, a national sophomore secret fraternity, brought him national recognition. He described Theta Nu Epsilon as "the main offender in crooked politics and dishonest practices."[65] Secret fraternities, like Theta Nu Epsilon, had "no thought of service to the University," Clark lamented. They were concerned "only with profit to the individual, and with the payment of political debts at the expense of the student body, and the university community at large."[66] The purposes and methods of Theta Nu Epsilon were "absolutely contrary to the principles of democracy," and Clark used all the administrative advantages inherent in the fraternity system to eliminate it.[67]

Theta Nu Epsilon was not an officially sanctioned fraternity, but it had a similar organization. Its members also belonged to legitimate fraternities. Clark used his knowledge of the fraternity system to ferret out members. He already knew which fraternities had been connected with Theta Nu Epsilon since its foundation. Several informers gave Clark the approximate size of the fraternity. Clark reviewed the membership rolls of fraternities with Theta Nu Epsilon connections to develop a "working list" of Theta Nu Epsilon members. Clark then compared his working list to a list of student committee members appointed during the last two years. The comparison confirmed his suspicions about Theta Nu Epsilon's domination of student politics.[68]

Certain in his knowledge, Clark pressured the editor of the *Daily Illini*, Illinois's student newspaper, into publishing materials that he hoped would discredit Theta Nu Epsilon. Clark counted on the "psychological effect of publicity" to turn students against Theta Nu Epsilon and to convince members that their exposure was imminent. Theta Nu Epsilon members became nervous and began to discuss their plight with other students. Clark soon proved his suspicions about membership, and informed the club president that the game was up and that other members should turn themselves in.[69] Some influential students belonged to Theta Nu Epsilon, so Clark chose not to expel members from the University. He required them to sever all connections with Theta Nu Epsilon, to present him with the organization's charter, and to agree to never purchase or wear a Theta Nu Epsilon pin again.[70]

Sub-rosa fraternity organizations were a widespread problem. In 1913 the Interfraternity Conference's Committee on College Organizations Antagonistic to Fraternity Ideals called sub-rosa organizations a "pernicious influence," that existed for political purposes or, worse, for "boozing" and "grafting."[71] Three years later, the same committee reported that sub-rosa organizations existed at nearly every college in the country. These organizations created "grave scandal by conducting unseemly initiations, by deprecating scholarship, by promoting drunkenness, and by becoming a sort of 'holding corporation' for the monopoly of class and college offices."[72]

Despite repeated condemnation, sub-rosa organizations died hard. Theta Nu Epsilon reappeared at Illinois in 1924, and Clark again quashed it.[73] In 1929 Kappa Beta Phi appeared. This fraternity dedicated itself to "all honorable ways and short methods of working one's way thru a college course," including the great arts of "cramming and swiping." Clark used the same methods that he employed against Theta Nu Epsilon to destroy the organization. He uncovered the organization's members—including the officers who called themselves "the swipe, the smouge, and the loaf"—without much difficulty.[74]

Sub-rosa fraternities were Janus-like from a dean's perspective. Administrators found their adolescent antics inconsistent with their goal of producing solid citizens. But, the organizational structure of sub-rosa fraternities helped deans to eliminate objectionable student behavior. Contacts inside sub-rosa fraternities provided deans with detailed information about troublemakers. But Clark and his colleagues knew that the disadvantages of sub-rosa fraternities far outweighed their advantages.

Legitimate fraternities were a dean's conduit for information about campus activities. But they also served an economic function. Dormitories were expensive to construct, and fraternities, Clark told James, played "no small part" in the housing of students.[75] Deans expected that students, both in and out of fraternities, would sometimes break the rules, but the careful supervision found in fraternity housing made it much more likely that a fraternity man's "irregularities of life" would be detected than would those of a student living in private housing. Fraternity housing was also more comfortable and more sanitary than housing on the open market.[76] Fraternities had convenient study rooms, ample bathing and toilet facilities, excellent and reasonably priced board. House rules established study hours and prohibited drinking and gambling. Fraternity housing, unlike private boarding houses, was, from Clark's perspective, "satisfactory...in every way."[77]

Other universities found fraternity housing equally beneficial. The University of Wisconsin, under pressure from the state legislature to eliminate fraternities, concluded that fraternities provided valuable housing and that their abolition was not warranted.[78] University of Iowa Dean Robert Rienow claimed that private dormitories, were interested in profits—not students—and would not enforce restrictive University regulations. Fraternities, conversely, promoted scholarship and enforced University regulations.[79]

Some administrators objected that fraternity housing was undemocratic: extravagant housing required high dues that often prevented a poor man from joining. In 1915 Clark studied student labor and discovered that "even to our surprise...more fraternity men proportionally are working...than non-fraternity men."[80] Still the charges persisted, and by 1921 the chair of the Interfraternity Conference suggested that fraternity-house extravagance "may result in unfitting the student for the struggle of life after leaving college." Successful student development required only a "fair degree of comfort," the chairman concluded, and fraternity houses should not go beyond this level.[81]

The following year, the University's Board of Trustees enacted a regulation requiring that the Council of Administration approve all chapter-house plans. Such approval, the Council argued, would combat undue construction costs that made necessary large memberships and high rents.[82] Clark later said that fraternities embraced this new regulation because they lacked the courage to embrace conservatism on their own.[83] Deans usually profited from fraternity-induced peer competition and group values that promoted homogenized behavior. But spiraling housing costs, spurred by fraternity competition, threatened the availability of campus housing—and the economic rationale for fraternities. These costs had to be controlled.[84]

Administrators became increasingly paternalistic as the number of students living in social fraternities increased.[85] After learning that the University of Wisconsin conducted fraternity-house inspections, Illinois quickly followed suit in 1929.[86] "Nothing concerning the student's life in the University," President David Kinley stressed, "is beyond the authority of the University, if it affects his career and work as a university student." Administrators could therefore intervene in fraternity affairs and could insist upon "proper study conditions, proper arrangement of rooms and sleeping quarters for the purpose of health, and an expenditure that will not impose a burden."[87]

Financial commitments accompanied increased paternalism. Universities did not provide fraternities with direct financial assistance, but Illinois had a informal arrangement in which Clark or his staff members of his staff assisted fraternities with their everyday finances. In some cases Clark acted as trustee until a chapter's debt was retired.[88]

Other universities allowed fraternities to use rent-free plots for houses or signed notes for fraternities. A few universities even built chapter houses and then rented them to a fraternity.[89] Fraternities exposed young men to the ways of the world, including financial management. But if fraternity members inadequately managed their financial affairs, and thereby damaged the reputation of the university, administrators did not hesitate to intervene. Illinois Assistant Dean Fred H. Turner, for instance, adjudicated many disputes between fraternities and creditors. The University of Michigan prevented fraternities from opening if chapters owed more than $200 from the previous semester.[90]

Supporters believed that, on balance, fraternities provided undergraduates with comfortable living-quarters, wholesome surroundings, and a healthy sense of responsibility at a reasonable price. Fraternities, moreover, substituted for parental guidance. "Any properly constituted chapter," said Cornell President Andrew Dixon White, "contains steady, thoughtful, earnest men who exercise almost a parental care over younger members."[91] "The real fraternity," said Clark, "is a home, and those living in it usually get a good deal of the social training that one might rightfully expect to receive in the home."[92] A familial atmosphere helped to shape moral character. And a healthy moral character improved scholarship—a primary concern of disciplinary administrators.[93]

Like all families, University of Illinois fraternities had rules.[94] Clark found that most chapters prohibited gambling and the use of liquor and tobacco on house premises, and required chaperones to accompany women. The University of Michigan and the University of Minnesota, had similar "well conceived" house rules that supported "proper conditions."[95]

Fraternity house-rules took on new importance after World War I, when the lid came off student discipline. Clark cited these obvious signs of student rebellion: eccentric dancing, cigarette smoking among women, pressure for later dance hours, "booze smuggling," and a decline in scholarship.[96] At Illinois, city authorities possessed little enthusiasm for policing students and merely winked "at things irregular."[97] How, then, was a dean to deal with student rebellion? Deans, Clark suggested, should stimulate student sentiment against evil "through organized houses and fraternities."[98]

Drinking, dancing, and sexual immorality—perennial problems—became more noticeable after World War I. Before Prohibition, fraternities would not "tolerate the clandestine introduction of booze into the house or the return of its members drunk from without." Wisconsin Dean S. H. Goodnight noted. Now, he bemoaned, fraternities seemed "duty bound to conceal and gloss over such episodes."[99] Still deans did not necessarily become disillusioned with fraternities over drinking because fraternities still strictly prohibited liquor consumption within houses. Purdue Dean Stanley Coulter told Clark that problems occurred when alumni came back to campus and expected "to celebrate as they did in pre-prohibition days."[100]

Clark made "definite preparations" with returning alumni to keep liquor out of fraternity houses. He suggested that the University deny campus privileges to alumni who furnished liquor. He also proposed that the newspapers publish the names of offending alumni when facts were "without question."[101] The University explicitly mentioned fraternities in its 1922 liquor rule and expanded penalties to include closing a chapter house.[102] Clark then held an all fraternity meeting on drinking. He informed Dean Goodnight: "There ought not to be any complaints if a few [students] are sent away."[103]

The battle against drinking continued throughout the 1920s. In 1924 Purdue University withdrew faculty approval from fraternities connected with drinking in any way. Clark wished he had "the courage to recommend the same thing here in the future."[104] In the late 1920s, Clark provided federal investigators with information on bootleggers and speakeasies.[105] One Illinois fraternity, Gamma Eta Gamma, was closed in 1929 after authorities confiscated more than twelve gallons of liquor. The University also dismissed eight Gamma Eta Gamma members.[106] Despite these problems, Clark, Goodnight, Coulter, and the Interfraternity Conference, continued to support fraternities. House rules, ideals, and organization, they concluded, made fraternity men more amenable to "corrective measures" than men who lived in private boarding-houses.[107]

Advocates also believed that fraternities could provide youth with a "proper understanding and attitude" concerning sex and reproduction. Fathers were not performing "their full duty by their boys in respect to sex," noted the Interfraternity Conference's Committee on Health and Hygiene. The committee recommended that colleges and fraternities become another means of sex education.[108] Preserving the "right sort of human home," biologist Thomas Galloway told the Conference, required exposing young men to the facts of human reproduction at "strategic points in human personal development," including the college years. No other type of human relationship "brought together the young people in better spirit than the fraternities," Galloway continued. Consequently fraternity men might well accept an appeal to higher sexual ideals.[109]

Students did not always appreciate administrators' straightforward presentations on sex. Illinois's health service director was called "a low, corrupt, and evil-minded man'" after a series of lectures on sexually transmitted diseases and the evils of masturbation.[110] The American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA), a leading proponent of eugenics and scientific sex-education, therefore decided that fraternities provided a more congenial atmosphere for discussing sex. Older fraternity brothers were, ASHA believed, "looked up to by the youngster in college with a devotion he does not feel toward the faculty." Therefore fraternities presented opportunities to "transmit standards and attitudes about sex" in a degree administrators never dreamed of and never attempted "as a mode of procedure."[111]

The Interfraternity Conference aimed to instill a "practical morality" in fraternity members and to "preserve a healthy spiritual and physical temple in which to realize the utmost happiness." Fraternity members needed instruction on "matters relating to their private lives and moral relations."[112] The Conference distributed copies of the 1921 report of the

Committee on Health and Hygiene to fraternities nationwide. Meanwhile, ASHA convinced over 185 colleges and universities to establish committees to study "the problems of social hygiene and sex education as these may relate to the educational task and to the life of the colleges."[113] (Clark served on the Illinois committee.) Through these efforts, ASHA hoped to promote "an enduring social structure based on clean homes."[114]

But ensuring "clean homes" required more than education. Consequently administrators regulated the social activities of fraternities. As early as 1902, Illinois's Council of Administration ruled that dances held on nights other than Friday or Saturday night contravened "the purpose of the University" and violated University discipline.[115] By 1908, Illinois required that the Council of Administration approve all student-sponsored entertainment. Five years later, the Council limited fraternities to two dances per semester.[116]

Near the end of World War I, Clark described fraternity men as "girl mad" and decided that enthusiasm for dancing was detrimental to studies. The University mandated that all informal dances close by midnight (formals had to close by 2:00 a.m.) and that the dean of women receive chaperone lists. Students had to submit plans for house parties and to file a party report with the dean of women within three days of a party's occurrence. House parties could not begin before Friday noon and had to close by 6:00 p.m. Sunday.[117]

University administrators further restricted parties in 1927 after a number of fraternities "invited young ladies to their chapter houses without chaperonage and others...indulged in dancing on Sunday afternoons." Such practices, according to Clark, were neither "conventional nor wise" and "careful people" considered such behavior both "objectionable and crude." The new regulations limited each fraternity to one house party per year, and required that at least one party chaperone have an official University connection. A fraternity could have a party only if its house average was C or better in the preceding semester. Failure to comply with these regulations could result in the loss of one social event for the year.[118] The University of Michigan and Purdue University had similar regulations.[119]

The administration could punish "objectionable practices," such as heavy petting, necking or drinking, by denying fraternities all social privileges for a year, informing national officers, and reporting disciplinary actions to the *Daily Illini*.[120] Controlling undergraduates' hormonal urges required education, and—when all else failed—shaming students into compliance.

Administrators also attempted to improve scholarship by bringing "fraternity influences to bear on individual delinquents."[121] No Illinois freshman could become a fraternity member until the end of his first semester and until he successfully completed eleven hours of work.[122] Administrators hoped fraternity rivalries would raise scholastic achievement. Illinois was the first school to compare systematically and to publish fraternity and non-fraternity students' averages.[123]

Each Illinois fraternity had a scholarship committee that reviewed scholarship reports with Clark and attempted "to get at the bottom of the poor scholastic standing of the individual members."[124] Clark informed fraternity presidents about members who cut classes. His office routinely sent scholarship reports to national fraternity officers, who in turn notified local chapters of their displeasure with sub-par scholastic achievement.[125] After World War I the Interfraternity Conference began to obtain scholastic data on fraternities from colleges and universities throughout the country. It considered these statistics "an indispensable basis for chapter and fraternity-wide improvement."[126]

Despite these efforts, fraternity men muddled along scholastically.[127] The "good fellowship" of fraternity houses, Purdue's Coulter worried, seemed to foster "college loafers instead of college students." Fraternity men were such "fine fellows," Coulter once told Clark, "that they agree to all that you say to them and then continue the same line of action that has characterized them in the past." The end of college fraternities, Coulter believed, was "inevitable" unless the academic performance of members improved.[128] One year, Clark found that fraternities were doing "pretty well," but a few years later less than one-third of all fraternities had averages equal to the University as a whole.[129]

But other attributes of fraternities more than compensated for their academic weakness. Even Coulter admitted that fraternities were the best way to reach students "en masse" and to generate discussion and change about important matters, such as respect for law or honesty in life.[130]

Fraternities helped to narrow the gap between the desires of students and the demands of administrators and parents. Fraternities promoted good fellowship, good fun, and Christian morality, and they helped to transmit popular culture. Fraternities, provided young men with an acquaintance network that might later open a door to a job. They kept alumni, whose financial assistance was necessary for a university's continued growth, in touch with their alma mater.[131]

By 1930, fraternities were "part and parcel of our system of higher education."[132] Fraternities, administrators believed, helped turn immature and imprudent boys into good and responsible men and encouraged conformity to middle-class values.[133] Clark regarded fraternities as a firm foundation on which to promote society's best interests. Fraternity men were not crude, or coarse, or impolite. They dressed nicely and had "nice manners." Fraternities provided young men with "proper associations" that could not be obtained elsewhere.[134]

Deans did not regard fraternities as flawless—there were problems with hazing, scholarship, drinking, and morality. But administrators considered them a unique complement to the mission of American universities. Fraternities provided students with a set of moral principles, which faculties espoused less and less, and they prepared students for the responsibilities of adulthood. Every fraternity man had the duty to "magnify the ideals of his fraternity, to make them something more than mere sentiment, to exemplify them more fully in his own daily life, and to impress them more forcefully upon the undergraduate members with whom he comes in contact." Just as every Christian who took his religion seriously could not tolerate immoral behavior, every fraternity man who embraced his fraternity ideals could find no "justification for the life that is not morally clean."[135]

Administrators did not passively tolerate moral turpitude within fraternities. Fraternity men voluntarily obliged themselves to live a clean and moral life. Hence when students faltered, administrators invoked fraternity ideals and rules to justify disciplinary action. Fraternities complemented and reinforced the socialized Protestantism of the Progressive era. They appealed to conservative-Progressive administrators, like Clark, who longed for both a harmonious university and a harmonious society. The Progressive "language of social bonds" emphasized a healthy physical environment, the control of immoral behavior, and the formation of a cohesive and well-ordered society.[136] Fraternities, whose character-building attributes were predicated on Christian values, fellowship, gentlemanly behavior, and rejection of vice, flourished when Progressive reformers and Social Gospel advocates promoted the same virtues.

Fraternities—properly guided—approximated the "responsible freedom" that parents, faculty, and administrators wanted for students. They prospered where expanding student populations necessitated effective disciplinary and character-building organizations. Clark's strong belief in the regenerative qualities of Christianity, led him to view fraternities as a means of effecting a spiritual transformation of society. Fraternities also provided wholesome and controlled housing. They offered a college home that emphasized middle-class and Christian values.

Fraternities helped to preserve and promote the prevailing middle-class culture and reinforced the notion that undergraduate education was a legitimate end. Twentieth century universities were not the exclusive preserve of scholars dedicated to science or letters, but agents of democracy that assumed the "custodianship of popular values."[137] To many Americans, a university education was desirable not because it exposed students to a rigorous academic regimen, but because it provided "moral soundness, fidelity to the local group, and the implicit promise of enhanced social position."[138] Fraternities ideally encouraged and enhanced these values. By the time Thomas Arkle Clark retired as America's most famous dean in 1931, many administrators, parents, students, and alumni concluded that fraternities were a desirable—and integral—component of the American higher education experience.

NOTES

1. A good summary of the alleged evils of fraternities is found in Clarence Cook Little, *The Awakening College* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1930).

2. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1913* (New York: Interfraternity Conference, 1913), 72-90.

3. *Michigan Alumnus* (May, 1913), Stuart S. Howe Papers, record series (r.s.) 26/20/30, box cu-25, file "FSS 1913," 372, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois. All archival materials cited in this paper are found in the University of Illinois Archives. The reference will hereafter be omitted.

4. The first report of the Interfraternity Conference considered the relations of fraternity chapters to college administrations and whether colleges should ignore or utilize fraternities. See *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1909* (Menasha: George Banta Publishing, 1909), 7. For the "apostle Paul" reference see the *Daily Illini*, January 30, 1927, 4.

5. Clark—America's "dean of deans" —was so well-known by the end of his career that the Quaker Oats Company enlisted him (along with Knute Rockne) as a spokesman for their breakfast cereal. See *Saturday Evening Post*, October 12, 1928, 81.

6. *Illinois Alumni News*, 5 no. 5 (February 1927), 179.

7. Remarks of Francis W. Shepardson, Interfraternity Conference Chairman 1914, *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1932*, 53. Clark wrote nine books including: *Biographies of Great American and English Authors* (Taylorville, IL.: C. M. Parker, 1910); *The Sunday Eight O'Clock, Brief Sermons for the Undergraduate* (Urbana: Illini Publishing Company, 1916); *The Fraternity and the Undergraduate* (Menasha: George Banta, 1917); *The High School Boy and His Problems* (Macmillan, 1920); *Facts for Freshmen Concerning the University of Illinois* (University of Illinois, 1920); *When You Write a Letter: Some Suggestions as to Why, When and How it Should be Done* (Sanborn, 1921); *Discipline and the Derelict* (Macmillan 1921); *The History of the First Presbyterian Church, Urbana, Illinois, 1856-1931* (Urbana, 1931); and *The Fraternity and*

the College, revised edition (Menasha: George Banta, 1931). For obituaries on Clark see Thomas Arkle Clark Papers (hereafter referred to as TAC), *r.s.* 41/2/20, box 20, file "1932."

8. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 4-9

9. On enrollment figures see, University of Illinois, *Catalog of the University of Illinois, 1901-1902* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1902), 388; and *Register of the University of Illinois, 1930-1931* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1931), 631.

10. On fraternity growth see, Carl Stephens, "History of the University of Illinois, 1867-1947," Carl Stephens Papers, r.s. 26/1/21, box 1, chapter 6, 12-13.

11. Allan Nevins, *Illinois* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 359

12. Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 141.

13. The idea comes from Frank W. Scott's eulogy of Clark in Alpha Tau Omega's *The Palm*, 52 (October 1932) [no. 4], 297.

14. Remarks of Clark to the Sixth Annual Conference of the National Association of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Records (hereafter referred to as NASPA), r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file: "NADAM, 1924," 12.

15. A 1913 study of the occupations of undergraduates' parents found that 34 percent were involved in business, 25 percent were farmers, 17 percent were professionals, 9 percent were skilled or unskilled laborers, 5 percent worked for the government or the railroads, 1 percent were retired, and 9 percent were of miscellaneous occupations or did not report an occupation. See University of Illinois, *Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois: A Statistical Study of the Administration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1920), 173.

16. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 2.

17. Helen Horowitz, *Campus Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 108-12.

18. "Origins of the Office of the Dean of Men", Annual Reports of the Dean of Men 1914-1939 (hereafter referred to as ARDM), r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-1918," 2-3.

19. *The Report of the President of the University of Illinois, 1928-1929* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930), 31-32.

20. Frederick D. Kershner, "In Loco Parentis, Yesterday and Today," in *The Changing Educational World--Opportunity for Fraternities*, twelve papers delivered at the National Interfraternity Conference at New Orleans, 1966, 27.

21. Nevins, *Illinois*, 188-189.

22. "Origins of the Office of the Dean of Men", ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-1918," 1-7.

23. Quoted in Kent Gatyas, "Thomas Arkle Clark and the Office of Dean of Men at the University of Illinois, 1901-1917" (University of Illinois History Department seminar paper, November 1989), 6.

24. The information on sororities is taken from Lisa Warne, "Illini's Sisters: Sororities at the University of Illinois, 1895-1920" (University of Illinois History Department seminar paper, November 1989), and Mary Louise Filbey, "The Early History of the Deans of Women: University of Illinois, 1897-1923," May 1969, Filbey Family Papers, r.s. 41/20/38. See Warne, "Illini's Sisters," 19.

25. *The Report of the President of the University of Illinois, 1929-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1930), 139. In 1930 the University had 3069 female undergraduates.

26. Warne, "Illini's Sisters," 29-30.

27. Remarks of Harry W. Chase, president of the University of North Carolina, before the Seventh Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1925), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1925," 1. Chase became the president of the University of Illinois in 1930 and was the last president under whom Clark served.

28. The "responsible freedom" notion is Chase's, see Ibid., 2. Laurence Veysey has argued that academic administrators were plagued by an "endemic uneasiness" in regards to student conduct because administrators lacked the "secure sanctions of a field lieutenant." I believe administrators embraced fraternities because they helped alleviate the problem of controlling student behavior amid surroundings that satisfied the conflicting desires of both parents and students. See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 269, 308.

29. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1916* (New York: The Interfraternity Conference), 32-33.

30. Sixth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file, "NADAM 1924," 26.

31. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1925*, 99.

32. Clip from *Daily Illini*, December 18, 1931, describing Clark's speech at the third annual all-pledge dinner, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 4, file "Obituaries July 1932."

33. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1909*, 7-8; also see Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, 144.

34. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1914*, 6, 36-37.

35. Unaddressed and undated letter by Clark concerning the dean of men's position, Dean of Men General Correspondence (hereafter referred to as DMGC), r.s. 41/2/1, box 24, file "Deans of Men Conference."

36. Clark to David Kinley, February 22, 1923, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1 box 31, file "President David Kinley."

37. Sixth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file, "NADAM 1924," 7-8.

38. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1923-1924, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 1.

39. Warne, "Illini's Sisters," 14.

40. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 19.

41. Unaddressed and undated letter by Clark concerning the dean of men's position, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 24, file "Deans of Men Conference."

42. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, 150.

43. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1923*, 63-64.

44. Ninth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1927), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "9th Annual Conference Minutes 1927," 2.

45. Sixth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1924," 28.

46. See Ibid., 558 and Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1915-1916, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-1918," 10-11.

47. In 1931 *Time* magazine described Clark as the "well-beloved, well-hated" inventor and famous proponent of the job of dean of men. *Time* claimed Clark liked to wear "garish clothes, big rings, [and] liked to be told he was the best dressed man on campus." See *Time*, August 31, 1931, 43.

48. Thomas Arkle Clark, "Health Lecture Number One," September 25, 1917, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 20, file "Dean T. A. Clark."

49. Sixth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1924," 12.

50. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1920-1921, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1920-23."

51. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1923-1924, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 12.

52. Third Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1921), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1921," 4.

53. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 13.

54. Clark to Stanley Coulter, October 10, 1922, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 30, file "Dean S. Coulter."

55. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1923-1924, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 11.

56. James A. Hawes to Clark, February 29, 1928, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 45, file "Hawes, James A."

57. Newspaper clipping from unknown publication, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 19, file "T. A. Clark Scrapbook 1881-1930."

58. Newspaper clipping from the *Centralia Evening Sentinel*, July 18, 1932, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 4, file "Obituaries July 1932."

59. For descriptions of hazing see "Origins and Development of the Office of the Dean of Men at the University of Illinois," ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-1918," 3. Also see Richard Allan Swanson, "Edmund J. James, 1855-1925: A `Conservative Progressive' in American Higher Education," (Ph.D dissertation, Urbana: University of Illinois, 1966), 186. For an incident demonstrating the potentially tragic consequences of hazing see Minutes of the Council of Administration, 3:56-83.

60. Council of Administrators Correspondence 1904-1931, r.s. 3/1/2, box 1, file "B 1905-09."

61. "Origins of the Office of the Dean of Men", ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-1918," 3. For the new definition of hazing see Minutes of the Council of Administration 4:43, and Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students, 1912, rule 66, Admission and Record's Directors Office, Undergraduate Regulations 1881-- (hereafter referred to as UR), r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 1, file "Regulations 1910-19."

62. Clark to David Kinley, February 18, 1929, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 48, file "President David Kinley." Also see Minutes of the Council of Administration, 30:105. For Clark's request to national fraternity officers see DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 47, file "Hell Week letters."

63. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 15-16.

64. *The Report of the President of the University of Illinois 1924-1925*, 10.

65. "Origins of the Office of the Dean of Men", ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1914-18," 5.

66. Thomas Arkle Clark, "Concerning Theta Nu Epsilon," TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 8, file "Theta Nu Epsilon 1913-15," 8. The article appeared in the University of Illinois's *Alumni Quarterly* (April 1913).

67. Ibid., 4.

68. Ibid., 6-7. Also see Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, 166.

69. Clark, "Concerning Theta Nu Epsilon," 8-9.

70. Agreement between Clark and Theta Nu Epsilon, 20 December 1920, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 10, file "'And it Came to Pass.'"

71. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1913*, 44.

72. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1916*, 33.

73. At the same time Theta Nu Epsilon's national office, which was now courting respectability, suspended the Illinois chapter and seven other sub-rosa chapters. Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1924, 50-51.

74. For a copy of Kappa Beta Phi's constitution see TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 19, file "T. A. Clark Scrapbook 1881-1930." For Clark's tangle with Kappa Beta Phi see TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 3, file "1929" and box 19, file "T. A. Clark Scrapbook 1881-1930."

75. Clark estimated that, in 1920, 30 percent of all male students were fraternity members. Secretary's Report for the Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men Report (1920), TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 9, file, "Deans of Men Meetings 1918-20," 2.

76. Clark to Edmund James, 13 December 1915, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 9, file "Edmund James 1913-1915." For further remarks of Clark on fraternity housing see Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1923-1924, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 12-13; for Clark's opinion of unsupervised housing see Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1927-1928, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1926-28," 20.

77. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 10-11.

78. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin 1848-1925*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 2:501.

79. Third Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1924," 34.

80. Clark to Edmund James, December 13, 1915, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 9, file "Edmund James 1913-1915."

81. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1921*, 34-35.

82. *Thirty-Second Report of the Board of Trustees* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1924), 97-98.

83. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1923-1924, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 13.

84. For the homogenizing influences of fraternities see Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, 149-67.

85. Tape recorded interview with Fred Turner, Fred H. Turner Papers 1918-1975, r.s. 41/1/20, box 1, file "Tape Recorded Interview."

86. David Kinley to Clark, February 19, 1929, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 49, file "President David Kinley." At least one other Big Ten school, Michigan, required fraternity house inspections by this time. See Ninth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1927), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1927," 4, 10.

87. *The Report of the President of the University of Illinois 1928-1929* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930), 32.

88. See TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 1, file "1907," box 3, file "1930," and box 8, file "Phi Alpha Delta 1908-1913." Clark was strongly in favor of a more active University role in this regard, see Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1928-1929, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1928-30," 10.

89. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1909*, 10.

90. Fred H. Turner to Clark, May 26, 1930, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 3, file "1930"; Stuart S. Howe Papers, r.s. 26/20/30, box cu-26, file "Greek Letter Fraternities at the University of Michigan." Michigan's policy began in 1934.

91. Andrew Dixon White, "College Fraternities," in Wayne M. Musgrave, *College Fraternities* (New York: The Interfraternity Conference, 1923), 137; see also Thomas Arkle Clark, "Shall I Join a Fraternity," TAC r.s. 41/2/20, box 18, file "magazines 1922."

92. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 17.

93. See remarks of Clark to the Interfraternity Conference in *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1914*, 27-28.

94. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1909*, 28.

95. For Illinois and Minnesota see DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 9, file "House Rules"; for Michigan see Stuart S. Howe Papers, r.s. 26/20/30, box cu-25, file "FSS 1913."

96. Secretary's Report for the Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men Report (1920), TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 9, file, "Deans of Men Meetings 1918-20," 3.

97. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1921-1922, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1920-23," 4.

98. Unaddressed, undated letter by Clark, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 24, file "Deans of Men Conference."

99. S. H. Goodnight to Clark, October 17, 1921, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 27, file "Dean S. H Goodnight."

100. Stanley Coulter to Clark, November 8, 1921, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 27, file "Dean Stanley Coulter."

101. Clark to David Kinley, October 26, 1921 and Clark to Kinley, November 17, 1921, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 28, file "President David Kinley."

102. Regulations for Undergraduates 1922, rule 62, UR, r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 2, file "1920-1930."

103. Clark to S. H. Goodnight, September 28, 1922, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 30, file "Dean S. H. Goodnight."

104. Clark to Stanley Coulter, February 14, 1924, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 33, file "Dean S. Coulter."

105. Harold G. Baker, U. S. Attorney Eastern District of Illinois, to E. C. Yellowley, Federal Prohibition Administration, March 5, 1928 and March 16, 1928, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 3, file "Jan.-June 1928."

106. See articles from the *Chicago Herald Examiner*, November 18, 1929, and the *Chicago Tribune*, November 19, 1929, TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 19, file "T. A. Clark Scrapbook 1881-1930."

107. Musgrave, *College Fraternities*, 114.

108. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1921*, 87.

109. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1923*, 44. Galloway taught at nearby Millikin University in Decatur, Illinois, from 1902 to 1915, so he was undoubtedly familiar with Clark. In 1919 Galloway became the associate director of education for the American Social Hygiene Association, a position he held until his death in 1929. Galloway authored such books as, *Biology of Sex for Parents and Teachers*, *Motivation in Moral Education*, *Sex and Life*, *The Father and His Boy*, and *Sex and Social Health*. See *Who Was Who in America*, 1:437.

110. J. H. Beard to David Kinley, November 19, 1924, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 35, file "Dr. J. Howard Beard"; for the lectures see J. H. Beard, "Health Lecture Number Five," October

23, 1917, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 20, file "Dean T. A. Clark," and Beard, "Health Lecture Number Six," October 30, 1917, ibid.

111. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1921*, 99.

112. Musgrave, *College Fraternities*, 117.

113. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1922*, 55-56 and M. J. Exner, director of American Social Hygiene Association, to Clark, April 25, 1924, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 33, file "Interfraternity Conference." Unfortunately I was unable to locate specific information on the committee at Illinois.

114. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1921*, 92

115. *Minutes of the Council of Administration*, 2:103.

116. Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students 1908, rule 69 and Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students 1913, rule 79, UR, r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 1, file "Regulations 1910-19."

117. Article from unknown newspaper, June 17, 1918, University Archive Vertical File, Thomas A. Clark folder; Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students 1917, rule 72, UR, r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 1, file "Regulations 1910-19."

118. Clark to fraternity presidents, February 25, 1920, SOAC, r.s. 41/2/5, box 1, file "C 1919-20"; Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students 1917, rule 77, UR, r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 1, file "Regulations 1910-19"; Minutes of the Committee on Student Organizations and Activities, December 10, 1923, Student Organizations and Activities Assistant Dean's Correspondence 1919-66, 1972-81 (hereafter referred to as SOAC), r.s. 41/2/5, box 2, file "Committee on Student Organizations and Activities 1922-23"; also see R. E. Gloss, secretary of the Committee on Student Organizations and Activities, to Clark, May 31, 1927, SOAC, r.s. 41/2/5, box 3, file "Dean Clark."

119. Third Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1921), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1921," 7-8.

120. R. E. Gloss to Clark, May 21, 1927, SOAC, r.s. 41/2/5, box 3, file "Dean Clark."

121. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1914*, 37.

122. Regulations for the Guidance of Undergraduate Students 1912, rule 75, UR, r.s. 25/7/0/1, box 1, file "Regulations 1910-19". Other schools had similar restrictions. See Secretary's Report for the Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men Report (1920), TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 9, file, "Deans of Men Meetings 1918-20," 5.

123. Johnson, *Fraternities in Our Colleges*, 175. For Assistant Dean Arthur Ray Warnock's seminal article, which showed a steady improvement in fraternity averages from 1909 to 1914, see TAC, r.s. 41/2/20, box 8, file "Articles on university life 1914, 1925-32." The article originally appeared in a 1914 issue of *Science*.

124. Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1925-1926, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1923-26," 8.

125. Clark to fraternity presidents, March 31, 1925 and April 1, 1925, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 36, file "Fraternity Letters." The correspondence of the assistant deans in charge of student organizations is peppered with letters to national fraternity officers and responses directed to chapter houses. See SOAC, r.s. 41/2/5, box 3 and box 4.

126. Johnson, *Fraternities in Our Colleges*, 176. Fraternities could also "influence" members by restricting the social activities of freshmen and members having difficulty with their studies. See Report of the President of the Interfraternity Council (Minnesota) 1912-1913, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 9, file "Fraternity House Rules," and Musgrave, *College Fraternities*, 108..

127. During most of Clark's tenure, fraternity averages were at or slightly below the University average. In Clark's last year in office, for example, the scholastic average of fraternity men equaled 3.092 while non-fraternity men had an average of 3.130, see Annual Report of the Dean of Men 1930-31, ARDM, r.s. 41/2/10, box 1, file "Annual Reports 1930-33," 7.

128. Stanley Coulter to Clark, January 27, 1922 and March 13, 1922, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 27, file "Dean Stanley Coulter"; for another dean who was less than satisfied with the effect of fraternities on scholarship, see Louis R. Wilson, *The University of North Carolina 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 66-67.

129. Clark to Stanley Coulter, January 28, 1922, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 27, file "Dean Stanley Coulter," and circular letter from Clark to fraternity presidents, October 20, 1926, DMGC, r.s. 41/2/1, box 42, file "Fraternity Letters."

130. Sixth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men (1924), NASPA, r.s. 41/1/40, box 1, file "NADAM 1924," 23-24.

131. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 18-19.

132. *Interfraternity Conference Minutes 1928*, 102.

133. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 122-23; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 119.

134. Clark, *The Fraternity and the College*, 17.

135. Ibid., 187-189.

136. On the "language of social bonds" see, Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," in Stanley I. Cutler and Stanley N. Katz, eds., *The Promise of American History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 124-126.

137. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 440.

138. Ibid., 443.

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"The Best Emissaries": M.B.A. Students at Cornell University 1948-1987

JAMES W. SCHMOTTER
Cornell University

> *"The first two years have seen commendable progress in establishing the School as among the best of its kind in the country. We hope that the next ten years will see its preeminence established beyond all doubt. In large part this will be up to the graduates, who are the best emissaries a college can have."*[1]
>
> *Cornell University*
> The Balance Sheet, 1948

HOLDERS OF THE MASTERS OF BUSINESS Administration (M.B.A.) have become, since the early 1980s, a stock stereotype of the American scene. The popular press repeatedly characterizes M.B.A.'s as well-trained, but arrogant technocrats more comfortable with numbers than with people. Other elements of this negative stereotype are greed, unrealistic expectations about personal and professional worth, and a lack of sensitivity to difficult human issues of management. The press usually blames two factors for this unfortunate profile: the materialistic values of M.B.A.'s and the education they received at the nation's graduate schools of management. This education, critics observe, is either narrowly and bloodlessly quantitative or overly general—a preparation for future chief executive officers that ignores the real tasks that M.B.A.'s undertake early in their careers. This training allegedly produces preferences for careers in staff over line positions, and in finance and consulting over production and marketing. These career choices, the argument continues, in turn produce alienation from the central issues of industrial competitiveness that currently face the nation's manufacturing companies. Robert H. Hayes and William J. Abernathy, two prominent critics, blame M.B.A.'s directly for the emphasis on results of quarterly financial statements that is, in their view, chiefly responsible for the lagging competitiveness of American business.[2]

These critiques notwithstanding, the increasing popularity of American graduate management education in the 1970s and 1980s is indisputable. From 1972 to 1982, the number of new M.B.A. degrees awarded annually increased an average of 2,875 per year. M.B.A.'s comprised less than ten percent of American masters degrees in 1965. By 1982, the proportion increased to more than 20 percent. During the same period, registrants for the Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT), the standardized test for accredited graduate study in management, rose from 36,342 to 307,737. The number of schools requiring this test grew from fewer than 200 to more than 600.[3] Graduate business schools have become a visible growth sector of American higher education.

But what of the young men and women studying for this supposed "golden ticket"? Until quite recently, less was known about M.B.A. students than any other population of graduate or professional students. But a survey of new M.B.A. matriculants at 91 schools begun in 1985 will provide data on students' demographic and educational backgrounds, career plans, reasons for graduate school choice and personal values.[4] The survey results will confirm and deny specific elements of the M.B.A. stereotype.

The historical frame of reference remains equally shadowy for understanding graduate management students. We know little beyond anecdote about the M.B.A.'s of the 1980s, but we know even less about M.B.A.'s of earlier years. Beyond some fairly typical institutional histories, little scholarship exists on the history of M.B.A. education.[5] Extant writing focuses on the development of institutions, on the scholarly work of prominent faculty members, and—to a lesser degree—on the interaction of business schools and their corporate constituents. This writing gives virtually no attention to the students who attended these institutions. Historical appraisals fail to focus on events of the past three decades, the period of greatest growth and development of graduate management education. This article considers the student body of the postwar years at one graduate school of management—Cornell University's Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, now the Johnson Graduate School of Management.

Individual records exist for 5,465 students who pursued masters degrees at the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration (B&PA) between 1946 and 1987.[6] The record cards include information on students' hometowns, undergraduate majors, intended graduate academic concentrations, age and gender. After 1956, the cards supply scores on the Admissions Test for Graduate Study in Business (ATGSB), the standardized test that in the 1970s changed its name to the GMAT. Our analysis aggregates this data to illustrate broad trends in the B&PA student backgrounds and aspirations.

Written records further illuminate the characteristics of Cornell M.B.A.'s. These records include the school's student newspaper—known variously as *The Balance Sheet, The Cornell Executive, News and Issues,* and *The Malott Times*. These periodicals provide insights into student life and concerns, especially during the school's early years. In addition, beginning in the late 1970s, each class of Cornell M.B.A. alumni compiled a class notebook for its five-year reunion. These notebooks contain revealing recollections and remembrances.

The demographic data and written records reveal that yesterday's M.B.A.'s differed from present-day students. But the preponderance of data suggests that the origins of today's M.B.A. stereotype may be found in the backgrounds and student experiences of this sample of future corporate managers. The data also suggest that historical forces more strongly influenced Cornell graduate business students than B&PA's specific mission or curriculum. Cornell was unclear, even confused, about its own particular mission, despite considerable rhetoric to the contrary. B&PA typically responded to external challenges and opportunities with reactive passivity.

The Cornell University faculty approved the beginning of a graduate program in business on December 10, 1941, but larger world events delayed its formal establishment until 1945. The first class of 27 students—enrolled in 1946—entered a program with a particular identity. Most of the school's founding faculty served in Washington during the war. These faculty members saw firsthand how the public and private sectors cooperated to defeat the Axis Powers. Economist Paul O'Leary, the first dean, was deputy administrator in charge of rationing in the Office of Price Administration. Wallace S. Sayre and Arthur E. Nilsson, O'Leary's future colleagues, also worked at OPA. Business historian John G. B. Hutchins labored in the War Shipping Administration.[7] These experiences—and the strong encouragement of Cornell President Edmund Ezra Day, himself a former business school dean at the University of Michigan—led to establishment of a graduate program that took a generic view of administration. The skilled, modern "administrator" could manage any kind of organization. The Cornell faculty would provide the requisite skills in the new School of Business *and* Public Administration.[8]

"We are not," O'Leary asserted in a 1951 plan for the school's future, "merely another graduate school and we do not propose to become a vocational institution. We should seek to produce a type of training that can be found only in a large university rather than the type of specialized training that a large corporation might want to develop for its own personnel."[9] Far more B&PA students were training to be Certified Public Accountants than were studying public administration. But O'Leary maintained that "the C.P.A. concentration is *not* as important, either immediately or in the long run, as the development of a more adequate staff and course offerings in public administration, a field more crucial to the primary purpose of the school."[10]

Economics, the discipline practiced by the school's early faculty members, underpinned the curriculum. But Cornell would offer a practical application of the dismal science. Case studies would inform the curriculum. Students, O'Leary wrote, "need not master, nor be subjected to, the esoteric theories and regimens of theoretical economics."[11] From a base in economics, students would master the "universals of administrative practice and techniques" through close work with professors in team-taught courses that integrated new material on a weekly basis. Further, Cornell would encourage these student to collaborate with faculty members on school-sponsored, cooperative research projects.

O'Leary delineated an ambitious, even utopian, institutional mission. He asked faculty members and students to rise above parochial self-interest and create a school with a unique approach to education for coping with the economic issues of the day. The plan was doomed to failure. O"Leary naively expected Cornell faculty members to permit external market forces rather than their own intellectual interests dictate research and teaching priorities, without offering any concrete incentives. Moreover, what if, as appeared to be the case, students found the more prosaic pursuit of the C.P.A. more attractive than the study of "the universals of administration"? Cornell experienced continued difficulty in its attempts to integrate business and public administration in the same school. B&PA did not resolve these difficulties in its first five years. Business clearly reigned supreme.

The school's second dean, Edward T. Litchfield, continued to publicize, if not to implement, this mission. Litchfield codified the teaching of the "universals of management" as the "Cornell Approach" in the first issue of *Administrative Science Quarterly*, the school's scholarly journal (1955). He also orchestrated the popularization of the "Cornell Approach" in a *Newsweek* article. The concept, however, drew greater attention outside the school than within, where faculty support of the idea remained passive at best.[12] Litchfield, a University of Michigan-trained political scientist, first achieved prominence as a member of General Lucius Clay's staff in occupied Germany. He argued eloquently that "Administration and the administrative process occur in substantially the same generalized form in industrial, commercial, civil, educational, military and hospital organizations."[13] But few B&PA students or faculty, let alone other opinion shapers in graduate management education, listened. A *Balance Sheet* response to the *Newsweek* article suggested that so far as the "universals" were concerned, it "might be a good idea to go over them in your own mind and ask a first-year student for a refresher if they don't come back too readily."[14] Seymour Smidt recalls no mention of the "Cornell Approach" during his job interview in Ithaca during the spring of 1956. Neither does Harold Bierman, Jr., whose campus interview that semester included a pleasant, if inconsequential conversation with the dean.[15]

While Litchfield's "General Theory" may have possessed a certain intellectual coherence and may, in fact, have been a good guide for the dean's own myriad interests, it ran against the rising intellectual tides of the times. Important developments were taking place within the individual academic disciplines of management, including the work emerging in applied economics at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, the exciting integration of economics, behavioral science, and mathematics that occupied Herbert Simon and his colleagues at Carnegie Tech (later Carnegie-Mellon), and the new developments in accounting taking place at the University of Michigan. Young scholars could take any of these paths to research careers. Indeed, three of the young faculty members that Litchfield hired, Smidt from Chicago and Bierman and David A. Thomas from Michigan, were of the new generation. Bierman and Smidt went on to internationally recognized research careers. Their co-authored book, *The Capital Budgeting Decision*, became a classic in its field. These professors, and colleagues who followed them from the growing doctoral programs of the nation's major research universities, focused on the development of deeper understandings of their own academic disciplines, not the broad integration across disciplines that Paul O'Leary and Edward Litchfield preached. In fact, not too long after the colorful Litchfield left Cornell for the chancellorship of the University of Pittsburgh in 1955, the *Administrative Science Quarterly* transformed itself into an increasingly specialized journal that reflected only particular currents in the developing field of organizational behavior.

C. Stewart Sheppard and William D. Carmichael, Litchfield's successors, continued to wrestle with B&PA's mission. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, the vast majority of its students studied business and planned careers in the private sector. A reorganization of Cornell's public administration faculty and more focused student recruiting in the 1970s produced only small increases in the proportion of B&PA students concentrating in public administration. The school's celebrated program in health and hospital administration fared little better. The program, another Litchfield innovation established in 1955 with a $5 million grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, attracted few students until federal funding provided direct student financial aid in the 1970s. Despite its name, the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration became in the 1960s and 1970s a fairly standard M.B.A. school. Its faculty members wrote articles for the academic business journals and consulted primarily with private sector organizations. These activities informed their teaching, and B&PA students enjoyed a mainstream M.B.A. curriculum designed to prepare them for careers in corporate America.

As such a mainstream graduate business school, B&PA participated in the changes that transpired in the academic disciplines of management during the 1950s and 1960s. Cornell anticipated the "revolutionary" conclusions offered in the widely circulated reports on business education prepared in the late 1950s by James Howell and Robert A. Gordon for the Ford Foundation and by Frank C. Pierson and others for the Carnegie Corporation. Some B&PA faculty already emphasized basic research and applied analytical approaches borrowed from mathematics and the social sciences to business problems, initiatives advocated by the reports.[16] Five years before the foundation reports, the school ceased its already limited involvement in undergraduate education. UCLA and Northwestern soon emulated Cornell's example.[17] The Ford Foundation, which financed the "revolution," did not award B&PA any substantial funding. But some B&PA faculty members took advantage of Ford grants to other universities to hone their analytical research skills. For example, Harold Bierman, Jr. spent the 1960-61 academic year at Harvard with Ford support learning how to apply advanced mathematical techniques to business problems.[18] The academic paradigm that evolved from the Gordon-Howell and Pierson reports dominated Cornell and most other major university business schools. In its faculty research and training of doctoral candidates, B&PA was clearly within the intellectual mainstream.

William D. Carmichael, who became B&PA dean in 1963, reflected this focus in his faculty recruiting priorities. Carmichael, a Yale-trained economist who agreed with Gordon and Howell's assessment of business education, attracted a cadre of research-oriented scholars who quickly achieved tenure and shaped the school's academic programs for a generation. These scholars included Thomas R. Dyckman from Michigan in accounting; L. Joseph Thomas from Yale and Warren Hausman from M. I. T. in operations research; Richard West from Chicago, and Jerome Hass and David Ahlers from Carnegie-Mellon in finance. Richard Roll and Myron Scholes rejected B&PA offers. These scholars later became superstars of academic finance at other universities. Finance and accounting became the most popular, and visible, areas in the school, though not without challenge from the older, practitioner-oriented faculty members and from colleagues in public and health administration. Indeed, Carmichael remembers dealing with these ongoing faculty divisions as the most difficult aspect of his deanship.[19] However, most students were unaware of this intramural squabbling. Students focused on job placement, the school's perceived reputation, and attracting corporate speakers to Ithaca for professional networking.[20]

In the late 1960s, other sectors of the university criticized B&PA for its corporate orientation and its campus isolation, criticisms typical of this era. In late 1969, protesters from the College of Arts and Sciences held Associate Dean David A. Thomas hostage in his office in an attempt to confront a Chase Manhattan Bank recruiter who had wisely exited the building some hours before.[21] Faculty members not only patrolled the halls of their building round the clock to prevent vandalism, but debated the relationship of the school to the problems of the inner city and the controversial war in Southeast Asia. B&PA students did not protest actively, but the student newspaper reflected their concerns in regular columns on racism and the environment.[22] The early 1970s also saw the largest enrollments in public and health services administration, a reflection of the public service ethos of some of America's youth during the post-Viet Nam and Watergate years. In 1972, a quarter of the graduating class concentrated in health administration; 12 percent in public administration.

These numbers would never again be so high. Cornell, along with other graduate business schools, soon benefitted from the increased popularity of the M.B.A. degree.[23] By 1980, more than 2,000 applicants vied for the 225 places in each entering class. Most applicants, whose ages as well as standardized test scores were increasing, sought to study business. This trend intensified disparities between teaching loads within the school and confused public perceptions of B&PA's programs. Dean David A. Thomas concluded that the opportunity cost of the public and health administration programs were too high.[24]

In 1982-83, a Task Force of senior corporate executives and leaders of business education reviewed the school's academic programs.[25] The Task Force examined B&PA's curriculum and the school's success in admissions and placement. The report explicitly called for elimination of the health services and public administration programs. The faculty vigorously debated these controversial recommendations. On March 1, 1983, the faculty ratified the Task Force's conclusions. The long smouldering controversy between business and public administration faculty was ended, but with no small acrimony, for there were clear losers and winners. Public administration faculty members continued unsuccessful lobbying with the Cornell Board of Trustees and alumni while updating their resumes. The now inappropriately named Graduate School of Business and Public Administration became the Cornell Graduate School of Management. Eighteen months later, in 1984, the school was again renamed the Samuel Curtis Johnson Graduate School of Management, thanks to a $20 million endowment gift from the Johnson family of Racine, Wisconsin, manufacturers of Johnson's Wax and other consumer products. At Cornell and elsewhere, the M.B.A. was a hot credential, and the large new endowment suggested that the popularity of graduate study in business had spread to other constituencies. By the mid-1980s the Johnson Graduate School of Management was in name what it had always been in reality—a graduate business school. Cornell represents the postwar history of a typical graduate business school. Cornell matriculants likewise typify the nation's M.B.A. students during these years. An analysis of who they were and what they studied provides insights about Cornell and about the last four decades of American graduate management education.

Many of today's M.B.A. students have pursued full time employment after completion of their undergraduate studies. The GMAC new matriculants survey, for instance, found that 85 percent of its 1985 sample of new M.B.A. students had some work experience, and that 34 percent worked more than four years.[26] Indeed, Harvard and Stanford virtually require such work experience for admission to their M.B.A. programs. Cornell, however, adopted this de facto prerequisite quite recently.

World War II veterans filled the first few classes at B&PA in the late 1940s. Ninety percent of the class of 1948, for example, were returned servicemen. In 1949, *The Balance Sheet*, the student newspaper, found a similar percentage of veterans at the Harvard Business School, but noted that Cornell students were, on average, slightly older.[27] The average age of that class—24.07 years at matriculation—was only exceeded twice during the next 24 years. Not until the 1970s did the average matriculant's age inch up toward 25, a barrier it passed in 1981.[28]

Throughout the the 1950s and 1960s, then, Cornell M.B.A. students were significantly younger than their counterparts of today. Fewer had the benefit of full time preenrollment work experience so common in the 1980s. This relative youth occasionally prompted some criticism from older students. One writer in the student newspaper noted that "we have a mature, seasoned, talented group of students from every section of the country and all corners of the world,"[29] But another student blamed his younger peers for student apathy. "It is somewhat more difficult for them," he observed, "to effect the transition from a 'college boy' to that of a student in a graduate school."[30] Students took the 1955 addition of "Graduate" to the school's name (albeit with no accompanying curricular changes) as a sign of their increasing professionalism: "We recognize that the full name of our School is long and possibly cumbersome. But we are not advocating any change. Our title represents a proud statement of the philosophy of the School."[31] Another student commented that not all students lived by this philosophy: "Some of our students are satisfied with doing less than their best. Papers, exams, lectures, speakers, etc. are often looked upon as momentary impositions instead of as professionally broadening experiences."[32]

Repeated sensitivity about professionalism and proper student deportment reflected a significant reality. Despite the 1955 change in its title, the school continued to educate many Cornell undergraduates admitted to master's study before they earned their baccalaureate degrees, usually in the junior year. These "Double Registrants," informally registered in two of Cornell's colleges, made up a substantial proportion of the B&PA student body—more than 30 percent of the total enrollment between 1948 and 1957

(Figure 1). A steady decline in their percentage of the student body began only in 1963, but then continued into the 1980s.

Undergraduate enrollment in shortened professional masters programs, usually called 3-2 programs because of the years of undergraduate and graduate study required, was neither a new trend in business education nor unique to Cornell. Large numbers of Harvard College seniors enrolled in the Harvard Business School during its early years.[33] Harvard stopped this practice in the 1930s, but other well-regarded institutions such as the Amos Tuck School at Dartmouth College continued it well into the postwar era. The 1959 Gordon-Howell report expressed less than total enthusiasm, although the authors admitted that they were perhaps "overimpressed by the difficulties of administering an effective three-two program."[34] Gordon and Howell noted that "most undergraduates in their senior year are not quite ready for a rigorous program," that the 3-2 option was limited in practice to undergraduates from one's own campus, and that it meshed well with neither the growing junior college movement nor the part time study common at many urban universities. They direly predicted, "If a school adopts a three-two program, it is likely to find that a considerable number of students will take their bachelor's degree and drop out at the end of the fourth year," an all too common phenomenon at both Harvard and Cornell.[35] B&PA was in step with the field when it began to limit the numbers of Double Registrants in the early 1960s. But Cornell did not easily adopt this limitation.

The B&PA faculty frequently debated the role of Double Registrants in the school during the 1950s and 1960s. In May 1954, the faculty expressed concern about the low admissions standards applied to Double Registrant applicants.[36] The following month the faculty "liquidated" B&PA's formal relationships with all Cornell undergraduate colleges except Agriculture, Engineering, and Arts and Sciences.[37] Eighteen months later the the faculty terminated the formal program with Agriculture.[38] Cornell undergraduates would henceforth apply to the program as individuals. In Spring 1956, the faculty voted Double Registrants would henceforth comprise no more than 20 percent of the student body.[39] Regular M.B.A. students, too, often made uncharitable comments about Double Registrants. In 1949, for example, a *Balance Sheet* editorial called them a "disunifying influence" that made the school too heterogeneous.[40]

Cornell Double Registrants included many talented students, despite some legitimate concerns about their academic preparation and the more expansive public rhetoric about their "professional" characteristics. Associate dean David A. Thomas noted in 1963 that Double Registrants represented a preselected applicant pool of demonstrated academic ability, and that they were "in greater demand" by employers than regular MBA students. Thomas called for the enrollment of more engineering undergraduates into B&PA.[41] B&PA had a clear recruiting edge by providing the attractive opportunity cost of receiving an M.B.A. after only one year of additional study. Double Registrants went on to some of the most impressive business careers enjoyed by Cornell M.B.A. alumni.[42] A limitation on Double Registrant enrollment occurred only when the number of applicants from other colleges and universities increased. This increase resulted from the national upward trend in demand for the M.B.A. degree itself.

The overwhelming male dominance at the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration until the early 1970s placed B&PA solidly in the mainstream of graduate management education.[43] (Figure 2) B&PA's official language reflected the school's male orientation. Course catalogues and faculty minutes always referred to students as "men." The student newspaper frequently advertised social events with Cornell sororities and with local women's colleges such as Elmira or Wells. And women were the brunt of jokes such as that attributed to advertising professor Harold Thurlby: "To get anything out of a woman, you got to hit her at least three times."[44] Such humor, which sounds anachronistic and offensively sexist today, was a mainstay of student life, and the corporate world Cornell M.B.A. graduates entered.

Those few women who enrolled in B&PA faced very limited career opportunities. Jane Knauss Stevens, the only woman in B&PAs first graduating class in 1948, could not locate a full time executive position. She became a "professional volunteer," a career she described with enthusiasm and pride in a 1985 article in the school's alumni magazine.[45] Eleonore van Berkum Eveline, a 1954 graduate, suffered a similar fate. "Hard to believe," she remembered in her alumni class reunion book in 1974, "but nobody wanted to employ a FEMALE M.B.A. in '54 as other than what I had been doing (multilingual technical writer for EXXON). So I turned my late husband's 23-room, 100 acre summer home in New Hampshire into a Christmas tree farm and bed-and-breakfast operation, thus avoiding both the stress and the money that accrued to my male fellow students."[46]

The activities of student spouses—nearly always female before the 1970s—provide another perspective on the school's locker room environment. In the 1970s and 1980s an M.B.A. Women's Association brought female executives to Cornell to discuss problems such as dual career families and managerial assertiveness. In contrast, the club for "Business and Public Administration Women" of the 1940s and 1950s was an assemblage of student spouses that heard talks on issues relevant to their lives as corporate helpmates, such as foreign travel, European relief, and holiday decorations.[47] In the mid-1950s the club's president reported, "During the past season we have presented a wide and varying program, from how to invest in stocks to how to cut a leg of lamb. Other subjects included the wife's role in the business organization, and a talk by a gynecologist." The speaker on the wife's role gave advice on how to "get a list of possible home sites from husband's employer" and warned not to "call hubby too often at the office!" The gynecologist "emphasized weight control. After you've gained twenty pounds, ladies, it's much harder for all concerned."[48] Preliberation views of women prevailed at B&PA. Females as well as males were in training for the organizational roles they would play after leaving Cornell.

In the 1970s, large numbers of women began to enroll at Cornell and indeed across all of graduate management education.[49] B&PA's environment began to change—at least publicly. Cornell took no strategic action to increase female enrollment beyond the addition of women's colleges such as Smith, Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley to its admissions recruiting schedule. Faculty meeting minutes and admissions office records reveal scant attention to the recruitment and treatment of women students. Female Cornell M.B.A. students led many of the school's clubs in the 1980s, but issues such as corporate role models and the balance of personal and professional lives commanded continued attention.[50] After 1978, women comprised more than one quarter of the student body, but no woman received professorial tenure at the school until 1983. An annual, student organized "Women's Forum" program, begun in the late 1970s, focused not on the recruitment of additional women to the faculty, but rather on issues that female M.B.A. graduates would face in the workplace.

Cornell's enrollment throughout the postwar years was not only basically male, it was also basically regional. The percentage of B&PA students who were natives of the northeastern states hovered between 60 and 70 percent throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The percentage dropped only marginally in the 1970s. Consistently more than 30 percent, and in some years as many as 50 percent, of Cornell M.B.A.'s were New York State residents. (Figure 3) Upstate private colleges and—above all—the Ithaca campus itself sent most of these students. Far fewer students came from overseas. International student enrollments consistently remained between 10 and 20 percent of the B&PA population. Only in 1983 and 1984 did foreign student enrollments surpass this level, a reflection of the recent growing demand for American M.B.A. education by foreign nationals.

Depending upon one's perspective, the geographic origins of B&PA students may reflect a Cornell preference for graduates of eastern colleges and universities or an inability to attract students from other parts of the nation. Edward S. Flash, Jr., the school's director of admissions during the 1950s and 1960s, appears to have conducted conducted few recruitment forays beyond the Midwest.[51] His successors in the 1970s spent more time visiting selected undergraduate schools across the nation, and the small increases in students from other regions probably reflects these efforts.

But a full understanding B&PA's regional emphasis requires an examination of where its graduates located their first jobs. In the 1950s and

1960s, New York City, with its corporate headquarters, money center banks, and Wall Street, attracted many Cornell M.B.A.'s. By 1987, 20 percent of Cornell M.B.A. alumni resided in the New York metropolitan area.[52] For many Cornell M.B.A.'s, returning to New York City meant going home, another step in a career that family backgrounds, personal role models, and secondary and collegiate education had shaped.

The large percentage of B&PA M.B.A.'s who had been Cornell undergraduates, narrowed the M.B.A. demographic pool. (Figures 4A-4C) During the 1950s and 1960s, Cornell's undergraduate student body came overwhelmingly from the northeast. So long as it was a major source of M.B.A.'s, this geographic bias would be evident. Not until the late 1960s did the proportion of Cornellians drop below 40 percent.

Did other postwar institutions of graduate management eduction retain a regional flavor? The Harvard Business School, the acknowledged industry leader throughout most of this period, drew its students from areas far distant from New England.[53] But the GMAC new matriculants survey suggests that the Cornell experience may be more common. The GMAC survey found that convenient location was "both the most frequently mentioned reason and the reason mentioned by the largest proportion of respondents" for choosing an M.B.A. program. Indeed, 60 percent of the surveyed students applied only to the school that they ultimately attended.[54] If such factors are significant in the mid-1980s, the most competitive period in the history of demand for M.B.A. education, similar reasoning probably prevailed in earlier years, when there were fewer applicants.

The undergraduate majors of Cornell M.B.A.'s also reflected student homogeneity. Graduate business schools—unlike medical schools—did not prescribe a preparatory undergraduate curriculum during the postwar period. The Gordon-Howell report recommended a background in "elementary economics, psychology and sociology, and mathematics" for graduate business study.[55] The Pierson report noted that "a liberal arts undergraduate education is probably the best preparation" for the ideal graduate business program he outlined.[56] Cornell M.B.A. students followed Pierson's advice. The majority of B&PA students consistently majored in subjects in the arts and sciences. (Figure 4-A)

Seventy-three percent of a sample of 375 arts and sciences graduates studied social sciences. This sample is drawn from 17 B&PA classes of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s in which alumni reunion book responses give good information on undergraduate majors. Seventeen percent of the M.B.A.'s surveyed majored in the humanities, and 10 percent majored in mathematics and the biological and physical sciences. This distribution changed little over the 30 years in question. The class of 1951 included 17 arts and sciences undergraduates, two of whom had majored in sciences and three in humanities; the remaining 12 all studied economics. The class of 1957 shows similar ratios: 5 in sciences, 6 in humanities, and 28 in social sciences. The class of 1963, which had larger numbers of engineers and business graduates, included 2 science majors, 5 from the humanities, and 13 from the social sciences. In 1974, these numbers were, respectively, 8, 9, and 32.

Homogeneity of academic background was actually *greater* than these figures suggest. The vast majority of these arts and sciences graduates majored in economics. Only a handful of students studied government or political science, sociology, or psychology. Most B&PA students probably saw their M.B.A. education as a practical means of applying the theoretical economic principles they learned as undergraduates.[57] Clearly, similar academic preparation mirrored the homogeneity of B&PA students' gender and demographic backgrounds.

The Gordon-Howell and Pierson reports had far less formal effect on B&PA's admissions standards than they had on the school's curriculum. B&PA retained an admissions policy that was formally "blind" to undergraduate majors. Throughout the school's history, the composition of B&PA's student body reflected the demographics of the larger applicant pool. Until the 1970s, B&PA's lack of selectivity in admissions complemented its subject blind policy. In 1960, B&PA rejected only 14 of 241 applicants outright. All other applicants were either accepted on placed on a waiting list.[58] Three years later, B&PA accepted 73 percent of all applicants.[59]

The Gordon-Howell and Pierson reports recommended against the undergraduate study of business as a preparation for the M.B.A. course. But, during the 1960s, B&PA's subject blind policy admission policy produced a challenge to the dominance of social science backgrounds among members of B&PA's entering classes. Nearly half of the students in some classes majored in business and engineering as undergraduates. The percentage of engineers is especially high. (Figure 4-B) Graduate training in traditional academic disciplines attracted talented liberal arts majors. The federal funding that began with the Sputnik crisis increased doctoral enrollments nationwide, and many potential M.B.A.'s may have opted for academic careers. In contrast, diminished opportunities for academic careers in the late 1970s and 1980s may have pushed arts and sciences graduates back to business school. In fact, in the early 1980s the University of Pennsylvania, New York University, and the University of Virginia offered nondegree academic programs designed to "re-tool" Ph.D.s for business careers.

The increased attractiveness of engineers to industry may also help to explain their larger influx into business schools. Lucrative new industries based on science and technology—computers, pharmaceuticals, and above all, aerospace and defense—rapidly developed in the 1960s. The Vietnam War and the initiatives of NASA provided exciting and reward-ing opportunities for managers with technical backgrounds. In 1963, the average inexperienced M.B.A. graduate with a nontechnical undergraduate degree enjoyed a starting salary slightly greater than 1.3 times that of the average full time U.S. worker. An M.B.A. with a technical degree commanded a salary differential of more than 1.5 the national average. By 1968, nontechnical M.B.A.'s had achieved the 1.5 level, but by then the differential for their technical counterparts exceeded 1.65.[60]

The proportion of undergraduate business majors at at B&PA increased for similar reasons during the 1960s. (Figure 4-C) But while the proportion of engineers dropped off in the early 1970s, the interest in M.B.A. education by business majors continued to grow. By the mid-1970s, undergraduate business major representation consistently surpassed the representation of engineers. This increase continued into the 1980s, providing further evidence that market demand overruled B&PA's stated admissions preferences. B&PA catalogues of the early 1980s warned undergraduate business majors that they would have no special advantage in their applications. But in 1985, business majored comprised 27 percent of all undergraduates nationwide.[61] Business majors were an even larger percentage of the M.B.A. applicant pool. Between 1978 and 1986, more than 40 percent of all takers of the Graduate Management Admission Test who provided their undergraduate majors listed business.[62] A B&PA student body shaped by the personal preferences of its applicants made some faculty members uncomfortable.

Regardless of undergraduate major, B&PA students opted for the study of business—not health services or public administration. Save for the early and mid-1970s, consistently fewer than 10 percent of B&PA students concentrated in public administration. A slightly larger percentage studied health administration, but substantial outside funding for financial aid, first from the Sloan Foundation and later from the federal government, helped to maintain this enrollment. These small enrollments provoked constant debate among faculty members about the health services and public administration programs.[63] The 1983 Task Force report and the March 1, 1983 faculty vote to eliminate health services and public administration represented the demise of Edward Litchfield's "universals." Cornell's competitors successfully defined themselves in terms of disciplinary excellence: Northwestern in marketing, the University of Chicago and the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School in finance, for instance. The research activities of faculty members dictated these specialties. B&PA faculty members conducted similar research but the school's continued public adherence to an outmoded educational concept camouflaged this reality. The Task Force recognized this inconsistency, and goaded the faculty to action. The March 1 vote ratified, rather than abandoned, the school's guiding organizational principles and culture.

Within the M.B.A. program, student choice of academic concentrations remained relatively constant. In 1956, 15 percent of the class majored in the briefly popular area of human resources/personnel. But by 1960 not a single student made that selection, and its popularity has remained minimal ever since. William H. Whyte, Jr., in *The Organization Man* (1956) observed that some M.B.A.'s found the security and routine of a career in personnel more attractive than the challenges of more analytical or entrepreneurial endeavors.[64] But the vast majority of Cornell M.B.A.'s noted that personnel work has not been a route to general management in the postwar American corporation. Marketing was a much more popular concentration. After dropping from a 30 percent level in 1952, marketing majors steadily comprised 10 to 20 percent of the B&PA student body.

A consistently large and constantly increasing percentage of B&PA students concentrated in finance and accounting. (Figure 5-A) The trend confirms the judgments of some observers that M.B.A.'s were studying turning away from subjects more directly associated with manufacturing. The steadily declining proportions of Cornell M.B.A.'s opting for a general business concentration confirms this trend. General business was a popular academic concentration during the school's first decade, but more than 20 percent of the class selected this concentration only in two years after 1970 (1970 and 1976). The decline of this field reveals a clear preference for specialized as opposed to general curricula.[65] (Figure 5-B) The trend towards specialization, however, has not translated into significant enrollments in production and operations management. A consistent 5 to 10 percent of B&PA students chose this concentration from the time of its introduction into the curriculum in the late 1950s. Recent recruiting efforts and creation of specialized joint masters degree programs with Cornell's College of Engineering increased this proportion to about 15 percent of the class since 1982. The stereotype of the financially-oriented M.B.A. finds some credence at Cornell, as does the frequently deplored lack of interest in manufacturing.

In sum, the four decades of Cornell M.B.A. students were consistently younger and more homogeneous than today's students. Females comprised more than 30 percent of all GMAT takers in 1985-86 and 43 percent of the 1985 GMAC New Matriculants survey, but virtually no women attended the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration before 1967.[66] Minority enrollments were not recorded before 1970, but old class photos and alumni reunion books include few Black faces. The 1968-69 course catalogue mentioned minority students for the first time, noting that financial aid was available for "qualified Negro students."[67] Further, at Cornell, large percentages of the M.B.A. student body came from the northeast, and from Cornell's own undergraduate colleges. Until the very recent past, too, Cornell enrolled only small numbers of international students.

One can only speculate about the long term effects of student homogeneity on the attitudes of M.B.A.'s towards jobs and careers. How well did homogeneity prepare Cornell students to interact with customers and competitors from different socioeconomic strata and from different nationalities and cultures? What effect did homogeneity have upon the ease, or lack of ease, with which women and minorities entered corporate America in the last two decades? What is the relationship between Cornell M.B.A. education and the ability of postwar managers to conduct business in an increasingly global economy? Are there linkages between the environment in which senior American managers of the 1980s received their professional training and their seeming difficulty in making their companies internationally competitive?

The subjects Cornell M.B.A.'s chose to study may also have affected the long term conduct of business. Throughout the postwar period, students preferred accounting and finance. Marketing was a fairly steady second choice. Smaller numbers of students chose production and operations management, and human resources/personnel lagged far behind. Research developments in the academic disciplines of management increasingly defined the intellectual life of B&PA as these disciplines matured and professionalized in the years after the Gordon-Howell and Pierson reports. As a result, the popularity of general business as a concentration lessened. The B&PA administration believed B&PA could provide students with applicable technical management skills in fields such as accounting, finance, marketing, and operations. Cornell faculty members taught this subject matter with more and more quantitative methodology in the 1960s and 1970s. Students seemed increasingly able to handle such material. Average scores of Cornell students on the ATGSB/GMAT steadily climbed from a low total score in 1961 of 478, slightly above the overall mean, to well above 600 and the 90th percentile by the early 1980s.

Whether or not higher standardized test scores promise better management is a topic far beyond this article's purview. And whether or not increased technical competence makes these M.B.A.'s agents of Hayes and Abernathy's "economic decline" is equally difficult to demonstrate. Yet this historical analysis bears out one of their key contentions. Cornell M.B.A.'s consistently were undergraduate economics, engineering, or business majors who made finance and accounting the most popular subjects in the curriculum. Student backgrounds and academic choices suggest that the emphasis on financial management that characterizes much of the leadership of the nation's major corporations during the last two decades began to develop before these young men entered corporate training programs.

Cornell M.B.A.'s and their counterparts at other schools learned how to manage financial resources to produce the immediate results demanded by investors increasingly concerned with short term performance. In accounting courses, they learned to juggle assets in business environments characterized by rapid changes in interest and inflation rates and complex tax laws. Students headed for Wall Street learned to sell the wondrously complex financial products that modern academic finance invented in the 1960s and after. Students in marketing learned to measure and affect consumer demands and preferences. The skills they learned in M.B.A. courses were immediately applicable to, and rewarded in, the career marketplace. This development may argue eloquently for the impact of graduate schools of management on the directions taken by postwar American business, but it also places greater responsibility on these schools for the eventual performance of their graduates as managers in the world economy of the 1970s and 1980s. Most observers of the contemporary international business scene would agree that the performance of America's M.B.A.'s has been, at best, mixed.

FIGURE 1: "Double Registrants" Among Cornell MBAs

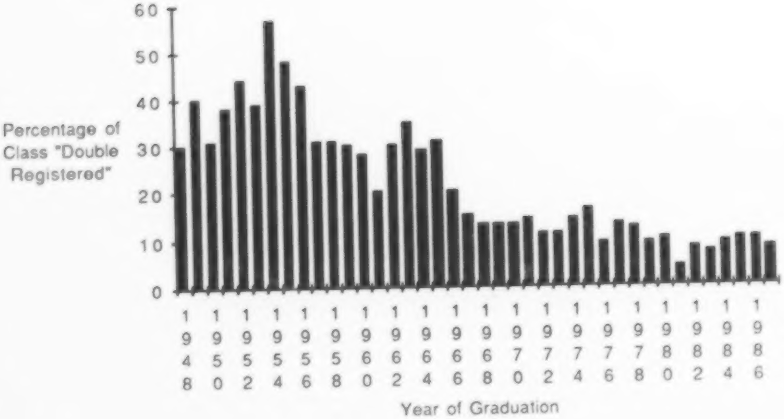


FIGURE 3: Cornell MBAs' Hometowns, 1948-1980

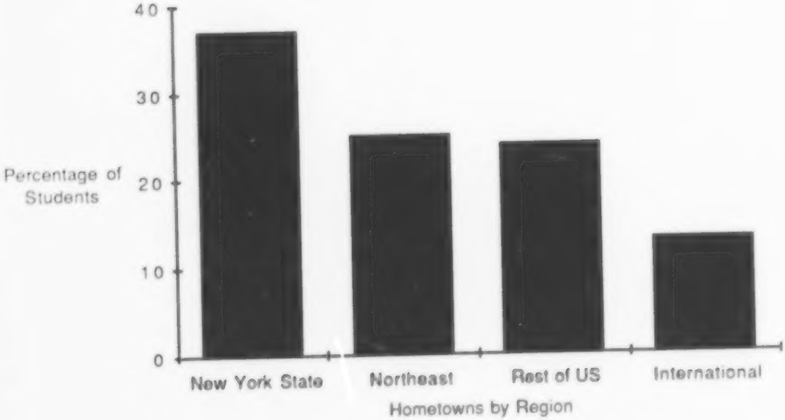


FIGURE 2: Female MBA Students at Cornell

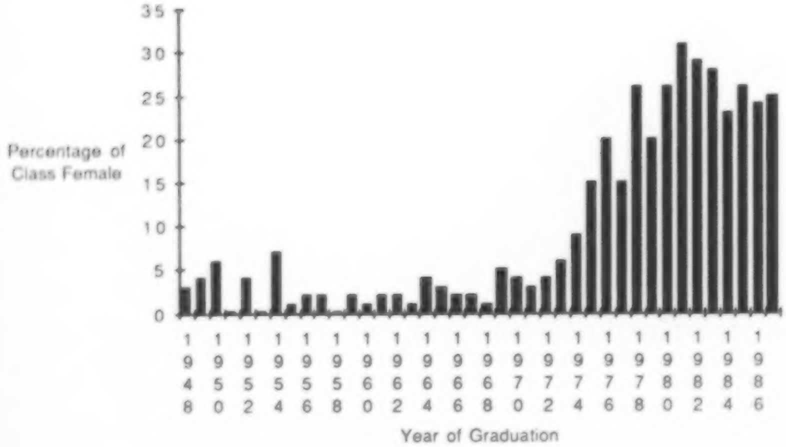


FIGURE 4-A: Arts & Sciences Majors Among Cornell MBAs, 1948-1987

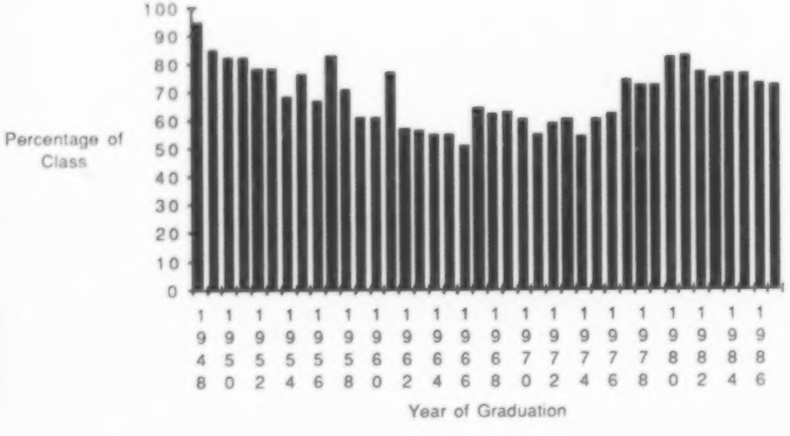


FIGURE 4-B: Engineering Majors Among Cornell MBAs, 1948-87

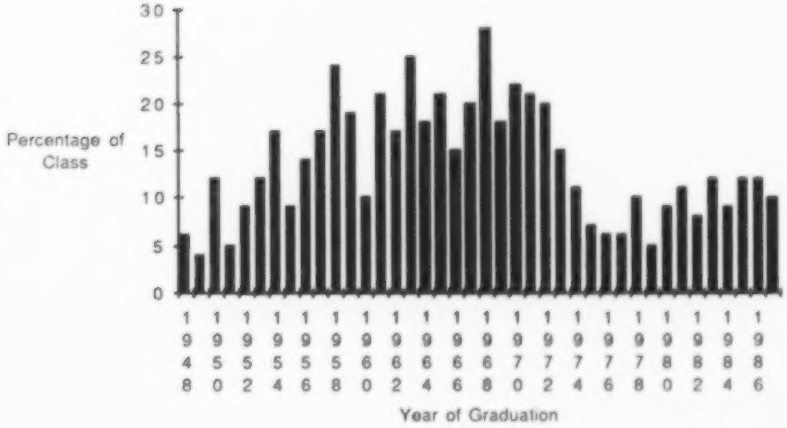


FIGURE 5-A: Cornell MBA Students Majoring in Finance and Accounting, 1948-1987

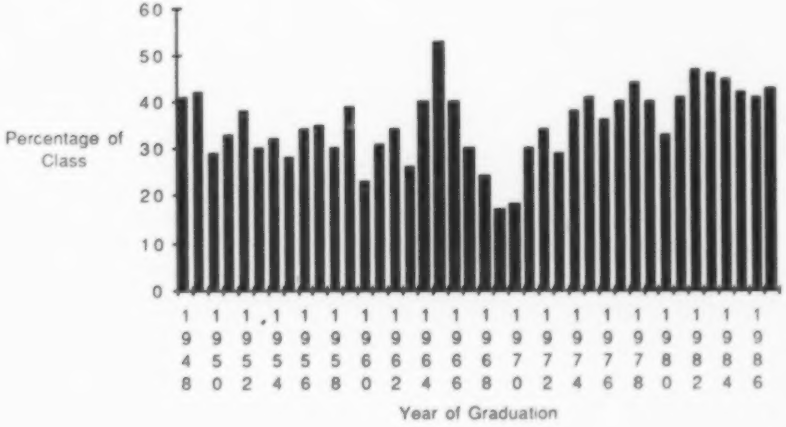


FIGURE 4-C: Undergraduate Business Majors
Among Cornell MBAs, 1948-87

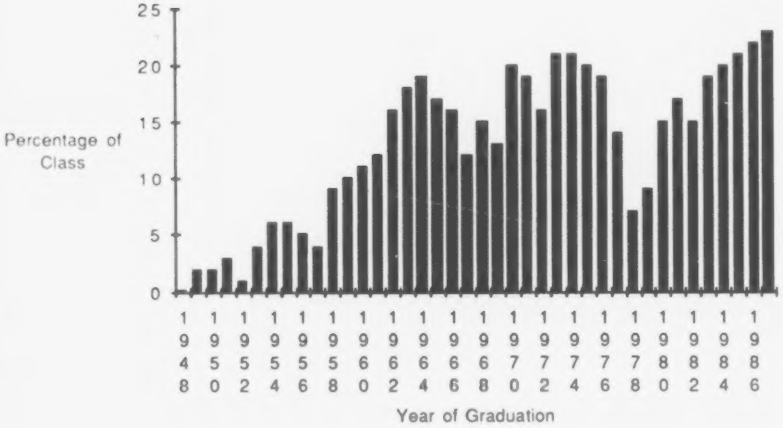
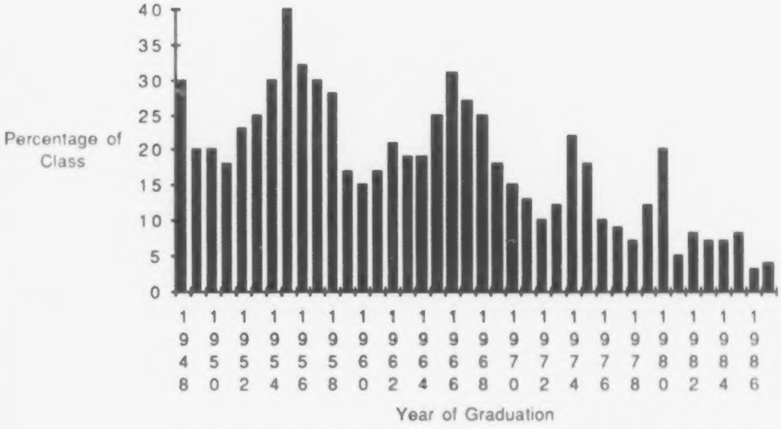


FIGURE 5-B: Cornell MBA Students Majoring
in "General Business," 1948-87



NOTES

The author thanks Gregory DL Morris for his research assistance and Steven Schlossman, Ross M. Stolzenberg, and Davydd Greenwood for their helpful comments on this manuscript.

1. "A Welcome to New Students," *The Balance Sheet* (the student newspaper of the Cornell University School of Business and Public Administration, September 23, 1948.

2. Robert H. Hayes and William J. Abernathy, "Managing Our Way to Economic Decline," *Harvard Business Review*, 58 (4) (July-August, 1980), 67-77. For other contemporary viewson the MBA, see Roger L. Jenkins, Richard C. Reizenstein, and F. G. Rogers, "Reports Cards on the MBA," *Ibid.*, 62 (5) (September-October, 1984), 20-30; and Robert B. Reich, *The Next American Frontier* (New York: Times Books, 1983), 140-172. A fairly typical example of the view of the popular press is "The Money Chase," *Time* (May 4, 1981), 58-64.

3. Ross M. Stolzenberg, "The Changing Demand for Graduate Management Education," *Selections*, 2 (Spring 1985), 10-24.

4. The National Opinion Research Center is conducting the survey for the Graduate Management Admissions Council. See Ross M. Stolzenberg, John Abowd, and Roseann Giarusso, "Abandoning the Myth of the Modern MBA Student," *Selections*, 3 (Autumn 1986), 9-21.

5. On the history of American graduate management education, see Melvin T.Copeland, *And Mark an Era: The Story of the Harvard Business School* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958); Thurman W. Van Metre, *A History of The Graduate School of Business, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); Paul S. Hugstad, *The Business School in the 1980s: Liberalism Versus Vocationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1983); Steven A. Sass, *The Pragmatic Imagination: A History of the Wharton School, 1881-1981* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Courtney C. Brown, *The Dean Meant Business* (New York: Columbia University Graduate School of Business, 1983); Jeffrey L. Cruikshank, *A Delicate Experiment: The Harvard Business School, 1908-1945* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1987); Frank C. Pierson, et. al., *The Education of American Businessmen: A Study of University-College Programs in Business Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), 34-54; Steven Schlossman and Michael Sedlak, "The Age of Autonomy in American Management Education," *Selections*, 1 (Winter, 1985), 15-26; The Business Research Consulting Group: Steven Schlossman, Michael Sedlak, and Harold Wechsler, "The 'New Look:' The Ford Foundation and the Revolution in Business Education," *Selections*, 3 (Winter, 1987), 11-27; Schlossman, Sedlak and Wechsler, "Conflict, Consensus, and the Modernization of Graduate Business Education: The Case of the University of Washington," *Selections* 5 (Winter, 1989), 1-11, 6 (Spring, 1989), 1-10.

6. The records cited are housed in the Office of the Registrar at the Johnson School. They include a card on every graduate of the school from the class of 1948 onward. The only existing appraisal of the school's history is James P. Ware, "The Cornell University Graduate School of Business and Public Administration: A Brief History of Its Founding" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, 1973). For background on Cornell University's history, see Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,1962); and Carl L. Becker, *Cornell University: Founders and Founding* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1943).

7. Paul O'Leary, interview with the author, Ithaca, N.Y., August 14, 1987; John G. B. Hutchins, interview with the author, Ithaca, N.Y., October 12, 1987.

8. Cornell University, School of Business and Public Administration *Announcement for 1947-48* (Ithaca, 1946), 5; Paul O'Leary, "Cornell's New School of Business and Public Administration" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management); Cornell University, School of Business and Public Administration, "Registration Instructions, Fall Term, 1946-47" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, 1946).

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10. O'Leary, "Plan for the Development," 6.

11. Ibid, 10.

12. Edward T. Litchfield, "Notes on a General Theory of Administration," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1 (June, 1956), 3-29; "At Cornell's Business School. . .A Grand Experiment in Making Managers," *Newsweek*, (April 4, 1955), 25-26. Impressions of the faculty's responses come from the author's interviews with John G. B. Hutchins; Harold Bierman, Jr., Ithaca, N.Y., August 12, 1987; and David A. Thomas, Ithaca, N.Y., June 25, 1987.

13. Litchfield, "Notes on a General Theory," 29.

14. *Balance Sheet* (May 12, 1955), 3.

15. Seymour Smidt, interview with the author, Ithaca, N.Y., August 6, 1987; interview with Harold Bierman, Jr.

16. Robert Aaron Gordon and James Edwin Howell, *Higher Education for Business* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) and Pierson, et. al. *Education of American Businessmen*.

17. Schlossman, "Age of Autonomy," 24-25.

18. Interview with Harold Bierman, Jr.

19. William D. Carmichael, interview with the author, New York, N.Y., October 8, 1988.

20. See *Balance Sheet* and *Cornell Executive*, 1962-1964.

21. David A. Thomas to William D. Carmichael, March 13, 1969 (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

22. For many examples, see *B&PA News and Issues*, 1970-71.

23. See Stolzenberg, "Changing Demand," 11-12.

24. Interview with David A. Thomas.

25. Task Force members included Samuel C. Johnson, chairman, Johnson's Wax; Sanford Weill, president, American Express; Jacques Maisonrouge, president, IBM World Trade Corporation; Robert Jaedicke, associate dean, Stanford University Graduate School of Business; and Lawrence Fouraker, former dean, Harvard Business School. Its chairman was C. K. Poe Fratt, a Peat, Marwick, Mitchell partner and former member of the Cornell University Board of Trustees. See Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Strategic Task Force, *Transcript of Proceedings* (Ithaca: Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, 1983).

26. Stolzenberg, Abowd and Giarrusso, "Abandoning the Myth," 10-11.

27. *Balance Sheet*, (Oct. 21,1949), 2.

28. Between 1948 and 1960 the average age of entering classes varied between a low of 22.70 in 1952 and a high of 24.51 in 1960. During the decade of the 1960s, the range was 23.06 to 24.07; for the seventies, 23.80; to 24.55.29.

29. *Balance Sheet*, (Oct. 21,1949), 2.

30. Ibid., (Nov. 14,1951), 2.

31. Ibid., (Oct. 22,1955), 2.

32. Ibid., (June 15,1956), 2.

33. Copeland, *And Mark an Era*, 85-87.

34. Gordon and Howell, *Higher Education for Business*, 285.

35. Ibid., 284-85.

36. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, May 10, 1954" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

37. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, June 14, 1954" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

38. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, December 12, 1956" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

39. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, April 29, 1957" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

40. *Balance Sheet*, 26 May 1949, 7.

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41. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, February 11, 1963" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

42. Among these were Glenn W. Ferguson (1951), later president of the University of Connecticut, Radio Free Europe and Lincoln Center; Charles Knight (1961), chief executive officer, Emerson Electric Company; Kenneth Derr (1960), chief executive officer, Chevron; and Charles L. Jarvie (1959), chief executive officer of Dr. Pepper and Schenley Industries.

43. See Stolzenberg, "Changing Demand," 13.

44. *Balance Sheet*, (Dec. 15, 1954), 3.

45. Jane Knauss Stevens, "Taking Issue with Overcommitted Volunteers," *Cornell Enterprise* (Spring, 1987), 54-55.

46. Johnson Graduate School of Management, *Class of 1954, Thirtieth Anniversary Report*,(Ithaca, New York, 1954).

47. *Balance Sheet*, (Dec. 3, 1948), 1.

48. Ibid., (January 1959), 4.

49. See Stolzenberg, "Changing Demand," 13; and two anecdotal views of women at the Harvard Business School: Fran Worden Henry, *Toughing It Out at Harvard: The Making of a Woman MBA* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1983); and Liz Roman Gallese, *Women Like Us: What Is Happening to the Women of the Harvard Business School Class of 1975--the Women Who Had the First Chance to Make It to the Top* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985).

50. For example, an April 24, 1988, program sponsored by the Johnson Graduate School Businesswomen's Association was entitled "Taking Care of Business--A Working Woman's Symposium" and included panels on "Women in the Corporate Environment", "Starting Your Own Business", "Networking", and "Dual Career Couples".

51. *Balance Sheet*, (February 1960), 2. Flash noted that he had visited schools "from the banks of the Wabash to the coast of Maine."

52. Johnson Graduate School of Management, Cornell University, *Alumni Directory* (Ithaca, New York: Johnson Graduate School of Management, 1986).

53. See Copeland, *And Mark an Era*, and Laurence Shames, *The Big Time: The Harvard Business School's Most Successful Class--and How It Shaped America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

54. Ross M. Stolzenberg and Roseann Giarrusso, "When Students Make the Selections: How the MBA Class of '87 Picked Its Schools," *Selections*, 4 (Autumn, 1987) 17.

55. Gordon and Howell, *Higher Education for Business*, 256.

56. Pierson, et. al., *Education of American Businessmen*, 262.

57. The classes in this sample are 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1970, 1971, 1973, and 1974. Of the total 375 arts and sciences graduates, 36 were in math and hard sciences; 63 in humanities; and 276 in social sciences. See Cornell University *Anniversary Reports*.

58. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, November 7, 1960" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

59. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, "Faculty Meeting Minutes, September 21, 1963" (unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, Johnson Graduate School of Management).

60. Stolzenberg, "Changing Demand," 20-23.

61. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987* (107th Edition) (Washington, D.C.: 1986), 139.

62. Paula M. Hudis and Ross M. Stolzenberg, "Recent Trends in Characteristics of Registrants for the Graduate Management Admission Test," (Briefing Paper, Graduate Management Admission Council, 1987), 28-29.

63. See Strategic Task Force, *Transcript of Proceedings* .

64. (New York: Simon And Schuster, 1956).

65. For collaboration of this trend, see Pierson, et. al., *Education of American Businessmen*, 720.

66. Hudis and Stolzenberg, "Recent Trends," 21; Stolzenberg, Abowd and Giarrusso, "Abandoning the Myth," 10.

67. Cornell University, *Announcements, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, 1968-69* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968), 70. In the next year's catalogue, "Negro" was replaced by the term, "Minority Group Students."

Nelson Rockefeller and the Politics of Higher Education in New York State

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE was transformed in the 1960s.[1] Determined to build a first-rank public university system that rivaled the systems in California, Michigan, and Illinois, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller devised an ambitious blueprint for expansion of the State University of New York (SUNY), and marshaled the requisite human and fiscal resources to accomplish this expansion. In his inaugural address as governor on January 1, 1959, Rockefeller envisioned the 1960s as an age of "historic decision." "We must plan—years into the future—expansion of our state institutions of higher education," he declared.[2] Rockefeller predicted, in his first message to the state legislature, that higher education enrollments would double by 1970. He set forth a goal of opportunity to attend college for every high school student with the requisite ambition and capacity.[3] He announced that he would immediately implement the $250 million bond issue approved in a 1957 referendum. Rockefeller promised close collaboration between the private colleges and universities, the State University, the municipal colleges of New York City, the Board of Regents, and the State Education Department.

In his 15-year tenure as governor, Nelson A. Rockefeller engineered the growth of SUNY and the City University of New York (CUNY) into the nation's first and third largest multi-campus public systems. SUNY expanded from a system of 41,000 students in 46 colleges in 1960 to 357,614 students in 64 colleges by 1975.[4] CUNY grew from seven colleges with 85,269 students to 20 colleges with 250,818 students by 1975.[5] Rockefeller assuaged private colleges and universities, concerned about the creation of two megaliths with public support, with scholarship and fellowship programs, student aid, institutional grants, and low-interest borrowing for capital construction through the state's Dormitory Authority.

The rapid growth of higher education in New York State during Rockefeller's tenure appears even more impressive when viewed in historical perspective. The private sector dominated higher education in New York State from 1784, when the Board of Regents was founded as a constitutional entity, to 1961 when Rockefeller signed the landmark Higher

Education Act. Governors and Regents schooled in private institutions showed little interest in expanding public colleges that were confined mainly to teacher training, and agricultural and technical programs.[6] The balance tipped toward the state's public institutions only after World War II. Factors that contributed to the shift included: the influx of veterans following World War II, the elitist and restrictive admission policies of many private universities, the advent of federal aid under the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and the growing recognition that educational opportunity was sound social, economic, and political policy. Rockefeller recognized that New York could not compete with California for new business and industry unless his state fostered a responsive environment for economic development. Expansion of SUNY would help to attract capital investment, stem the tide of undergraduates who sought low-cost education in neighboring states, and revive such depressed regions as Suffolk County on the eastern end of Long Island and Buffalo in the Niagara tier.[7]

Rockefeller, the Board of Regents, and the Commissioner of Education expanded access and opportunity in public higher education while they helped to transform New York's private colleges and universities into an independent, government supported sector.[8] The blueprint for expansion of public higher education originated in the reports of the Rockefeller Panels (1958), the Heald Committee (1960), and subsequent blue-ribbon committees sponsored jointly with the Board of Regents. Implementation of this blueprint required the collaborative efforts of political and academic leaders in both the public and private sectors.

Two key individuals assisted Rockefeller: James E. Allen, Jr., the Commissioner of Education from 1955 to 1969, and Frank C. Moore, president of SUNY's Board of Trustees from 1954 to 1966. Allen and Moore understood the origins of the SUNY system and the Regents' initial antipathy to its development. Allen came to Albany as executive assistant to Commissioner Francis Spaulding in 1947. He represented Spaulding during the political debate over SUNY's establishment. Moore was a SUNY trustee since establishment of the board in 1948. He also served as state comptroller and then lieutenant governor in the administration of Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Allen and Moore had their own objectives that required Rockefeller's cooperation: Allen to re-establish the role of the Regents in higher education policy, and Moore to develop the State University.

This article analyzes the shift from private to public dominance of higher education in New York State during Rockefeller's years as governor. It first discusses Dewey's role in establishing SUNY and the Regents' reluctance to support its development in the 1950s. It then focuses on Rockefeller's alliance with Allen and his supporters in expanding education in the 1960s and alludes to parallel changes in the state's private sector and in the City University. Last, the article analyzes political leadership in state government and the impact of leadership on educational policy making and institutional change.

SUNY's First Decade, 1948-1958

Events during the gubernatorial administrations of Thomas E. Dewey (1943 to 1955) and Averell E. Harriman (1955 to 1959) set the stage for the twin transformations of the 1960s. In 1945, New York was the only state without a public university. A complex, fragmented governance structure oversaw New York's 34 public colleges. The Board of Regents directly controlled 11 teachers colleges, six agricultural and technical institutes, and six two-year Institutes of Applied Arts and Science. The Regents also "supervised" six professional colleges that received land-grant subsidies and operated under contracts with Alfred, Cornell, and Syracuse Universities; the Maritime Academy with an independent board; and New York City's four four-year colleges that the mayorally-appointed Board of Higher Education directly governed. Cornell University, the state's land-grant institution, was a private university with several public trustees on its board. The Regents also had constitutional responsibility for the supervision of all public elementary and secondary education, libraries, museums, and cultural organizations in the state.[9] All public colleges were tuition-free by law. Student aid was limited to $300,000 in merit scholarships for use at private colleges and universities in the state.

The demand for a state university became a major issue in Dewey's 1946 campaign for re-election as Governor.[10] Moore advised Dewey to defuse the issue by appointing a commission to study the problem. In that year, Dewey established The Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University. Owen D. Young, a former Regent and chairman of the General Electric Corporation, chaired the commission. In calling for establishment of a public university, the commission cited the need to accommodate returning veterans, end discrimination against Jewish students in medical school admissions, develop a system of two-year colleges that offered technical education, and grant state aid for teacher training to New York City's four senior colleges. The Young Commission report laid the groundwork for legislation that established SUNY on July 1, 1948 as a separate corporate entity under the general supervision of the Board of Regents (chapter 695, *Laws of 1948*). Dewey then appointed a 15-member Board of Trustees with authority to develop its own master plan for the existing state colleges outside of New York City, to acquire two medical schools, and to establish up to 22 community colleges in the state, including New York

City. He named Oliver Carmichael, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, chairman of SUNY's board of trustees. In turn, Carmichael recruited Alvin Eurich as SUNY's first president.

The commission strategy allowed Dewey to bypass the Regents which sought to limit expansion of higher education to the construction of two-year technical institutes around the state. The Regents concluded that transfer in operating authority of the public colleges to the SUNY board threatened their power. Supported by the presidents of the 11 state teachers colleges, the Regents sponsored the Condon-Barrett bill to rescind SUNY's corporate status and make the university a unit of the State Education Department. Dewey prevailed when the legislature defeated the bill in March, 1949. By June, Eurich had drafted SUNY's first master plan. Many private colleges supported the Regents' opposition to an autonomous public university. But their Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York (ACUSNY) took a neutral stance. In return, Dewey informally assured ACUSNY that SUNY would establish no new liberal arts colleges for the next ten years.[11] All parties supported this negotiated agreement, which was consistent with the Young Commission's principle that "the function of State-supported post-high school education should be to supplement, not to supplant, privately supported colleges and universities."[12] SUNY also assumed control of two private, financially troubled medical schools in 1950: the Syracuse University College of Medicine became the Upstate Medical Center, and the Long Island College of Medicine became the Downstate Medical Center. SUNY also acquired Triple Cities College, a branch campus of Syracuse University, as its only liberal arts college, and renamed it Harpur College.[13] Finally, SUNY founded community colleges in Jamestown and Orange Counties.

Averell Harriman, Dewey's successor, took little interest in education in general and SUNY in particular. Harriman's apathy left the SUNY trustees, now under Frank Moore's leadership, free to thwart periodic efforts to establish a single graduate research university within the SUNY system. Moore viewed creation of a research university as a violation of the Young Commission principle. In 1957, a consultant's report commissioned by the trustees themselves characterized SUNY as an "academic animal without a head." The report recommended that SUNY identify one campus as the site for an integrated research institution. The public controversy over release of this report led the trustees to dismiss Frank Carlson, SUNY's second president, on December 12, 1957.[14] The trustees simultaneously declared that "to the extent possible, higher education is brought into all regions of the state to supplement the efforts of the private colleges and universities."

Carlson's abrupt departure stalled implementation of the $250 million bond issue until appointment of a successor six months after

Rockefeller's election. The SUNY trustees first proposed the bond issue in early 1955 and the legislature reluctantly approved the measure the following year. Harriman opposed it and the Regents initially took no position. But James Allen, named commissioner in 1956, used the bond issue to seize the educational initiative for the Regents.[15] The Regents soon urged that proceeds from the bonds be used to fund a five-year teacher training college for Long Island, several new locally-controlled community colleges, and need-based scholarships for academically qualified students. Harriman's continued opposition led Allen to convey the "grave concern of the Regents and the SUNY trustees regarding the delays." Allen noted "the impending deluge of qualified students seeking college opportunities," and urged the governor to "expedite construction."[16]

The launching of Sputnik in 1957 and passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, reinforced Allen's conviction that federal aid to education was a "stamp of approval on recognition of education as an instrument of national policy."[17] Allen subsequently provided the Rockefeller administration with the rationale and data for expanding higher education and implementing a statewide policy of access and opportunity.

Harriman and Rockefeller both sought to use the governor's office as a springboard to the White House. One month prior to the 1958 gubernatorial election, Rockefeller announced a program to improve education in schools and colleges. He accused Harriman of showing "neither imagination nor initiative in meeting the educational challenge."[18] Rockefeller supported the Regents' call for substantial increases in state aid for schools. He pledged to "assure college education for every qualified student [based on] proper encouragement of private colleges," expansion of SUNY and the state scholarship and loan program, and awareness that "education was not a static but a growing and continuing problem and that costs would steadily rise."[19]

When he defeated Harriman in November, 1958, Rockefeller promised to implement the $250 million bond issue. In fact, by December, 1973, when he resigned to seek the presidency for the fourth and final time, Rockefeller committed $2.5 billion to higher education construction, The final cost was projected to reach $4 billion. The 32 new public colleges created in New York State during Rockefeller's 15 years as governor almost doubled the existing number.[20]

Both political and economic considerations dictated Rockefeller's enthusiastic support for public higher education. Allen and others convinced Rockefeller that the private sector, which then enrolled 75 percent of all undergraduates, could not handle a predicted bulge in college enrollments brought about by the post-war baby boom. Expansion of public facilities required the transformation of the state teachers colleges into comprehensive liberal arts colleges. SUNY would also have to establish its own graduate and professional schools. Rockefeller also recognized that a strong higher education system would help to retain and attract business and industry in the state and to reverse the tide of outmigration of students who sought high-quality, low-cost education elsewhere.

Rockefeller's family tradition and political experience enabled him to carry out ambitious objectives.[21] When President Gerald Ford nominated him for the vice presidency in 1974, Rockefeller observed: "For forty years, I have worked in government at local, state, federal, and international levels, in business and finance, in cultural activities and in philanthropy."[22] In 1953 and 1954 Rockefeller served as the first Under Secretary of the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Rockefeller resigned to seek the position of Secretary of Defense, but George Humphrey, an Eisenhower confidante and Secretary of the Treasury, thwarted his ambition. Humphrey regarded Rockefeller as a big spender.

Discouraged with bureaucratic politics and recognizing that Eisenhower's Vice President, Richard Nixon, would be a potential competitor for the presidential nomination in 1960, Rockefeller left Washington in 1956 to seek the New York State gubernatorial nomination. Two events gave him visibility as well as a campaign strategy. From 1955 to 1957, he chaired the Rockefeller Special Studies Panels on domestic and foreign policy issues. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, of which Nelson Rockefeller was president, underwrote the panels' reports, entitled *America At Mid-Century*. The subpanel report on education drafted by John Gardner, contained many themes that found their way into the 1960 report of the Heald Committee on Higher Education in New York. Gardner also sat on the Heald Committee.[23]

In 1956, Rockefeller and Republican legislative leaders persuaded Harriman to appoint him chairman of the 15-member Special Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the State Constitution.[24] Harriman miscalculated that the appointment would effectively remove Rockefeller from political contention. Instead, it afforded Rockefeller the opportunity to travel around the state with Frank Moore, conduct public hearings on important local issues, meet county political leaders, and garner support within the Republican Party. Rockefeller recruited William Ronan, former dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration at New York University, as director of the constitutional commission. Ronan later became his secretary and chief of staff operations. The commission completed a series of background studies, including one on education, that gave Rockefeller a "grandstand seat from which to view State government and the State itself."[25] To prepare for his gubernatorial campaign, Rockefeller recruited a staff of researchers to draft position papers on issues that confronted New York State.[26] The paper on education, Gardner's report to the Rockefeller Panels, the constitutional commission findings,[27] and position papers by the Regents and the Heald Committee staff, helped to define higher education policy during Rockefeller's years as governor.

At the inauguration of SUNY's third president, Thomas H. Hamilton, in August 1959, Rockefeller pledged to build a great state university. He quoted John Masefield: "There are few earthly things more beautiful than a university . . . more enduring than a university . . . for century after century."[28] Rockefeller cultivated Allen and the Regents, and he carefully controlled the selection of new Regents by the Republican-dominated legislature. Rockefeller and his cadre of political advisors held frequent strategy meetings throughout the 1960s. The governor constantly negotiated with competing legislative factions. Out of conflict came consensus among public and private constituencies. Rockefeller addressed policy issues in terms of the equitable distribution of available resources. At the heart of his strategy were the 42 task forces, committees, and legislative commissions he used over the next 15 years to formulate proposals for solving problems in virtually every policy area of state government "from medical education to housing."[29] The task forces included prominent public figures with impeccable credentials who gave legitimacy and visibility to controversial proposals and whose recommendations would be less subject to challenge in the political arena. Rockefeller and the Regents jointly sponsored three major task forces on higher education: the Heald Committee (1959), the Muir Committee on Medical Education (1961), and the Select Committee on Private and Independent Higher Education (Bundy Committee, 1967). The following analysis, derived from in-person interviews and a review of primary documents, provides insights into ad hoc policy formation in the Rockefeller administration. The analysis illustrates Rockefeller's willingness to work for large-scale—and often high cost—solutions. "But the gamut of State programs that, over 15 years, physically transformed the State and attacked its social problems are all illustrative of the Governor's unwillingness to accept limits, his conviction that all problems were solvable."[30]

The Heald Committee

The Heald Committee was the first and most critical of Rockefeller's successful maneuvers through the thicket of higher education politics. Rockefeller and Allen jointly appointed three prominent educators: Henry Heald, president of the Ford Foundation and former president of New York University, John Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of

Teaching, and chair of the 1957 Rockefeller Panel on education; and Marion Folsom, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and architect of the National Defense Education Act. The committee developed proposals to assure full educational opportunity for all New York State residents for the next generation and to place New York in the forefront of business, science, technology, health care, teacher training, and cultural development.[31] The committee utilized state demographic data to estimate that New York required one million trained teachers, engineers, and other skilled professionals by 1980. To assure an adequate supply of professionals, the committee urged: expansion of SUNY through federal and state support, formation of an independent City University out of the existing New York City municipal colleges, Regents' coordination of statewide planning, and implementation of a system of tuition assistance grants and uniform tuition in all public colleges in the state and New York City.[32]

The Heald Committee dramatically changed the role of public higher education in New York State. No longer would the public system supplement private higher education; it was now an equal partner. In return for Allen's and the Regents' support for SUNY's unimpeded growth, Rockefeller gave the Regents greater control over the master planning process. Allen sought and obtained master planning authority for all public and private higher education to overcome the Regents' antipathy toward SUNY and legislative animosity toward the Regents.[33] Rockefeller accepted this quid pro quo because SUNY gained in the process. The Heald Committee successfully balanced the competing interests aroused by Rockefeller's pursuit of large-scale solutions.

Actually, Allen tried and failed to convince the Heald Committee to give the Regents control over the governance and finance of SUNY and CUNY. He set forth his agenda as to "who should be responsible for state leadership in higher education."[34] Allen proposed to "tie together as an organic whole under the leadership of the Regents" the SUNY Board of Trustees, New York City's Board of Higher Education, and the trustees and staffs of the private institutions. The Commissioner of Education would be "chief of staff for statewide planning and development."[35] Allen's "possible proposal" included the breakup of SUNY through creation of a Downstate University under the supervision of a board appointed by the Regents. The university would include all community colleges in New York City, the Downstate Medical Center, the State University College on Long Island and other four-year public colleges in the metropolitan area. Allen suggested that SUNY become an Upstate University, with the contract colleges and community colleges removed from its supervision.[36] The Regents would appoint the presidents of these colleges, and supervise curriculum, budgets, and degrees. They would also appoint community college trustees.

Allen's proposal backfired. Hamilton complained that the Heald Committee treated him as Allen's subordinate by failing to inform him of these proposals prior to their announcement. Hamilton sought Rockefeller's approval for legislation "designed to give us the independence we seek" from the Regents.[37] Rockefeller, and SUNY and CUNY leaders argued that public higher education boards needed the "capacity to act decisively and effectively" in future expansion. These boards especially needed more direct access to the governor through the division of the budget and to the legislature through its oversight and appropriations committees.

Rockefeller and SUNY emerged victorious when Carroll Newsome, president of both New York University and ACUSNY, supported Hamilton.[38] ACUSNY desired a new student aid program to help offset the tuition differential between public and private higher education in New York State. Newsome also wanted low-cost loans for the capital expansion of private colleges. Agreement on a formula for need-based student aid linked to imposition of tuition for full-time undergraduates led to legislative approval of the entire plan, and ultimately for financing SUNY's expansion.[39] ACUSNY and SUNY shared the benefits of the new program, called scholar incentive awards. The final agreement also gave the private sector access to the state's Dormitory Authority, enabling it to obtain low-interest loans for capital construction of academic buildings. SUNY obtained a construction fund to underwrite its expansion. The agreement also took control of SUNY's budget from the Regents and gave it to Rockefeller.

The scholar incentive award program itself emerged from intense discussions of several student aid issues: whether financial need or academic merit should determine student aid, the eligibility of students in denominational colleges, and the use of student aid in lieu of free tuition. Rockefeller sought increased student aid and a uniform tuition policy for New York's public colleges. Reliance upon tuition offset by student aid permitted funding the debt service on future construction at SUNY, accelerating the pace of construction, and avoiding the statutory need for public referenda. Rockefeller called this funding mechanism necessary for meeting the demand for "tripling our higher education facilities."[40]

But need-based student aid was controversial. The private sector experienced enrollment declines and financial shortfalls. Protestant and Jewish groups opposed aid to denominational institutions. Catholic leaders sought equal benefits for their students without loss of religious identity. The Regents desired an equitable need-based formula. Last, free tuition advocates in New York City opposed any formula that threatened the existing no-tuition policy.

The Heald Committee's recommendations led to seven statutes that were acceptable to all groups.[41] Rockefeller cited the Higher Education Act (chapters 388-394 of the *Laws of 1961*, signed April 11, 1961) as a "major breakthrough in New York's efforts to assure an opportunity for higher education to every young man and woman in the State who has the ability and desire to achieve it. . . a balanced program made possible by the outstanding cooperation and support of the Leaders, Committees, and Members of the legislature. . ."[42]

The new law established CUNY as an autonomous university and granted CUNY approval for the state's first publicly supported doctoral programs in exchange for imposing tuition on graduate students. The Regents gained master planning authority over all public and private higher education. SUNY and CUNY became independent of the Regents in governance and financing policies, and SUNY attained control of all community colleges. The law authorized need-based scholar incentive grants of $100-300 for undergraduates and $200-800 for graduate students who attended public or private colleges and who paid at least $200 tuition.[43] Frank Moore persuaded the SUNY Board of Trustees to adopt a uniform tuition policy for all of the SUNY colleges. The 1962 tuition rate of $400 for undergraduates and $600-800 for graduate students made SUNY students eligible for the scholar incentive awards.[44]

The law created a State University Income Fund to receive all tuition and fee income and a portion of the annual state appropriation as payment on lease-rental agreements for new buildings erected and financed by the State University Construction Fund. The construction fund law was signed on April 1, 1962 (chapter 251, *Laws of 1962*) despite opposition from the Dormitory Authority and the Regents. The fund was a public benefit corporation, separate from the Department of Public Works, that could expand without any constraints of public referenda.[45]

Rockefeller could now foster SUNY's unimpeded growth and end its role as a "supplement" to the private universities. The plans for new university centers illustrate the magnitude of this shift. The Regents in 1957 sought only one five-year teachers college on Long Island. But the Heald Committee called for two entirely new centers on Long Island and in Buffalo, each with a broad range of graduate and professional programs. State Senate Majority Leader, Walter J. Mahoney, facilitated a 1962 merger of the private University of Buffalo with SUNY and its subsequent designation as a university center. The efforts of Assembly Speaker Joseph Carlino and Frank Moore led to the founding of a university center for Long Island at Stony Brook in 1962. The Heald Committee's recommendations also led to creation of a graduate center that incorporated Albany State Teachers College as its nucleus, and another at Binghamton built around Harpur College. SUNY's 1961 master plan called for the transformation of its teachers colleges into multi-purpose liberal arts colleges. This plan echoed an earlier Regents statement that "the State Colleges of Education be expanded to include strong liberal arts programs and the granting of liberal arts degrees."[46]

The Muir Committee

The time was propitious for an initiative in health professions education. The federal government made expansion of training in the health professions a major priority. SUNY's founding was linked to demands for access to medical schools. The Rockefeller family was long involved in the improvement of medical education and in the support of scientific advancement.[47] It was not surprising, therefore, that Rockefeller seized upon the Heald recommendation to strengthen medical education. In December, 1961, Rockefeller appointed another blue ribbon committee chaired by Malcolm Muir, president of *Newsweek*. William R. Willard, former dean of the Upstate Medical Center, and Thomas Parran, former United States Surgeon General, also served on the committee. The private sector still dominated training in the health professions in New York State. That sector, which included seven medical schools, two dental schools, and most of the nursing schools, awarded almost 90 percent of the 2,805 degrees earned in New York in the health professions. SUNY, in contrast, administered two medical centers, eight nursing schools, and 19 other health-related programs. The bankrupt University of Buffalo had a medical center, and SUNY's takeover of that university gave it an additional medical school. The 1963 Muir Committee report recommended that future expansion in health professions education occur within SUNY as well as through contractual arrangements with the private sector.[48] The committee proposed construction of three new medical schools. The Stony Brook center, already under construction, was to be operational by 1970. A second center, possibly in Westchester County, would be ready by 1980. The committee also proposed creation of a private medical school at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City. This school eventually affiliated with CUNY. The Muir Committee also made recommendations on dentistry, nursing, social work, and public health. The committee endorsed the "invaluable complementary relationship of private institutions to public institutions [and the need for] an atmosphere of close cooperation."[49]

SUNY's Growth Problems

Hamilton resigned as SUNY's third president in 1962. For the next two years, board chairman Frank Moore and acting president J. Lawrence

Murray governed SUNY. This arrangement did not satisfy Rockefeller, particularly when SUNY experienced deepening problems with the legislature. Moore complained that the Governor's office did not consult him or the SUNY trustees especially when Rockefeller and the Regents appointed important commissions to study educational issues. Moore stated that he was being blamed "unfairly and inaccurately" for problems he did not create, and threatened to resign.[50] Moore privately commented that "no governor has so completely disregarded the state university board and president." He was particularly piqued that Rockefeller referred him to William Ronan in university matters.[51] Moore retired in 1966, at the age of 70, two years after the appointment of a new president.

Rockefeller wanted a strong academic leader to make SUNY a first rank public university. Again, the time was propitious. In 1963, Congress approved a Higher Education Facilities Act that provided federal matching funds for new university construction. Also, the recommendations of SUNY's 1964 quadrennial master plan would shape a long-term development strategy. Samuel Gould, president of the Public Television Network in New York City, became SUNY's fifth president and first chancellor. Gould was formerly chancellor of the University of California at Santa Barbara and president of Antioch College. According to Gould, "nobody wanted the job; there hadn't been a permanent president in more than two years and Moore and Murray were running the place."[52] Many of the 59 campuses, he continued, lacked strong leadership to oversee planned construction, formulate academic programs, and hire faculty. Enrollments had grown to 120,000 full-time students, but more than 50 percent of these students registered for teacher education and other professional programs. Gould immediately rewrote SUNY's master plan based on the concepts of unity, quality, and identity. He also recruited academic leaders for the new university centers. SUNY soon established two new four-year colleges: the College at Old Westbury in Nassau County, an experimental arts and science college, and the College at Purchase in Westchester County, SUNY's campus for the arts. Gould successfully articulated SUNY's needs to both Rockefeller and Allen and gained considerable autonomy for its many campuses and budgetary support for its programs. Elizabeth Luce Moore, a close personal friend of the Rockefellers and Frank Moore's successor as chair of the SUNY Trustees, noted: "Nelson liked the cut of Sam's jib." Both Gould and Elizabeth Moore found Rockefeller readily accessible.[53]

SUNY's transformation under Gould, changes in New York's student aid policy, increased support of private colleges, new programs for the disadvantaged, and CUNY's rapid growth made New York State into America's fastest growing supporter of education, measured by operating and capital support. In 1966, Rockefeller asserted: "My purpose as

Governor, in the field of higher education has been that of totally overhauling state programs and launching many new ones to make sure that increased educational needs are matched by increased educational opportunities of continually improving quality."[54] Public and private colleges that sought support for new buildings encountered a hospitable climate, including low interest rates offered through New York's Dormitory Authority. Rockefeller emphasized opportunity and access as well as quality education in the liberal arts, sciences, and professions. SUNY erected new buildings in almost every county, thus affirming its slogan, "The State is its campus" while building broad-based public support. SUNY was the major beneficiary of state largesse, but private institutions and CUNY also received strong support. Rockefeller reaped political rewards as SUNY's colleges primed state and local treasuries in support of their municipal services.

The monumental state university was not without its critics. *New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable said SUNY's $4 billion building program put Rockefeller "right up there with the popes and pharaohs."[55] The Construction Fund financed, planned, and designed the projects, selected architects and supervised construction, completing 752 projects at a cost of $957 million by 1971. The fund had another 284 projects valued at $508 million under construction, and another 333 projects worth $1 billion in design. "By 1974," Huxtable estimated, "the grand total will be 2,000 projects worth that awesome $4 billion."[56] Legislators in districts that benefitted from SUNY construction supported these lucrative projects, but the private sector became increasingly restive. CUNY, up to its limit in overutilized buildings, pressed New York City's political leaders for access to construction funds. There were few naysayers, however, because decentralization focused public attention on those colleges in close geographic proximity. Making the state its campus facilitated expansion, but as resources grew scarcer in the next decade, decentralization was a less satisfactory operational strategy.

CUNY's Growth Problems

By 1963, under pressure to provide greater access to minorities in New York City's public colleges, Rockefeller sought a bond authority to foster CUNY's expansion. Having been re-elected on a "pay-as-you-go" platform, he supported a constitutional amendment for home rule and imposition of undergraduate tuition at CUNY. The Regents referred to CUNY's tuition policy as an "anomaly." Students who attended New York City's community colleges, colleges of general studies, and the graduate school paid tuition "while undergraduates at the baccalaureate institutions of the

City University attend without charge." The Regents asserted that CUNY and SUNY should impose comparable tuition rates.[57]

In 1965, CUNY's second chancellor, Albert Bowker, admonished the Board of Higher Education (BHE) to "trade off tuition for better access to Albany." He asserted that CUNY needed $400 million to build new facilities, and proposed a "theoretical tuition rate" of $400 per year per student, completely financed through state scholar incentive awards, mayoral scholarships, and federal NDEA grants. The BHE's vociferous opposition to Bowker's suggestion and his subsequent resignation precipitated a crisis.[58] Frustrated in his efforts to end free tuition at CUNY, Rockefeller proposed that SUNY establish colleges in New York City unless the BHE expanded CUNY. The BHE soon reinstated Bowker, and passage of the City University Supplemental Aid and Construction Act (chapter 782, *Laws of 1966*) in June, 1966 solved the crisis. The act authorized $400 million of new construction for CUNY.[59] It permitted a City University Construction fund to enter directly into lease-rental agreements funded from state and city appropriations, non-instructional fees, and graduate and non-matriculated tuition. CUNY soon gained eight new colleges, converted two divisions into colleges, and signed an affiliation agreement with Mount Sinai's new School of Medicine. Rockefeller observed that CUNY now received more state aid than 23 state universities in the U.S.[60]

Racial politics further accelerated CUNY's expansion. As early as 1963, New York City's Black leaders alleged that CUNY's admission and tuition policies limited access for Blacks and Puerto Ricans.[61] CUNY's 1968 master plan envisioned open admission for all New York City high school graduates by 1975.[62] But, confrontations between Black and Puerto Rican students and senior administrators at City College following Martin Luther King's assassination accelerated pressures to increase minority access and thereby calm a politically volatile situation. On July 9, 1969, Bowker recommended and the BHE approved implementation of open admissions in all CUNY colleges by September, 1970.

At this point, mayoral politics intervened. Mayor John V. Lindsay expressed concern about the fiscal implications of open admissions at a time when the city had serious budget shortfalls. Rockefeller, Lindsay, and legislative leaders again attempted to impose uniform tuition in exchange for state aid to fund open admissions. Buffalo's Senator Earl Brydges raised the prospect of a CUNY-SUNY merger. But the BHE refused to modify its free tuition policy nor merge its 15 colleges with the 59-unit SUNY system.[63]

Lindsay's fear of losing his campaign for reelection to Mario Procaccino, a conservative candidate, led him to switch his support to open admissions. When civil rights for the city's minorities replaced fiscal politics, the Governor's office, the city's Black coalition, Allen, the Regents, and Bowker compromised. Rockefeller supported and partially subsidized open admissions as part of a Full Opportunity Program that pledged "access to a meaningful further education" for "every young man and woman graduating from high school in New York State."[64] Rockefeller's program encompassed all postsecondary academic and vocational education in the state. He increased operating aid for open door community colleges from one-third to 40 percent, expanded program aid for disadvantaged students in public and private colleges, earmarked more state operating funds for SUNY's senior colleges, subsidized open admissions at CUNY and helped the private sector increase its minority enrollments. Rockefeller's cool relationship with Lindsay and his inability to win the BHE's agreement to end free tuition made his intervention controversial. New York City's sizable private sector soon concluded that open admissions actually benefitted many white middle class students. This threat to the private sector's stability led to Rockefeller's direct involvement in the heated rivalry between public and private interests.

Aid for Private Colleges

By 1970, enrollment shares in New York State substantially shifted toward the public sector in both undergraduate and graduate education. Between 1962 and 1968, graduate enrollments increased by 230 percent at both SUNY and CUNY. The private sector reported a 54 percent increase. By 1966, SUNY offered 43 Ph.D. programs, had a large Research Foundation, and devoted more resources to the health sciences. The presidents of the state's 16 large universities, which enrolled 96,500 (50 percent) of full-time students in private institutions, became alarmed about SUNY's rapid growth into high cost graduate and professional programs and the shift in enrollment shares. The presidents urged Rockefeller to support a state program of direct aid to private colleges.[65]

The Regents opposed the request of the private university presidents. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Regents controlled student aid through its growing program of scholarships and fellowships, including the scholar incentive program. From 1913 to 1959, the Regents University Scholarship Program awarded 211,701 merit scholarships. In Rockefeller's first two terms as governor, awards increased by 72 percent to 504,474.[66] Between 1959 and 1974, the Regents distributed $375.4 million through nine programs. Economic need replaced academic merit as the rationale for most programs.[67] But periodic increases in scholar incentive grants did not begin to close the tuition gap between SUNY and the private colleges. Faced with the presidents' request, the Regents proposed a further increase in scholar incentive awards to $1,000.

The education committee of the 1967 State Constitutional Convention offered yet another approach. The committee proposed a constitutional amendment that guaranteed statewide free tuition for all public and private higher education. This initiative not only countered the Regents' proposal, it also forestalled the exchange of student aid for free tuition at CUNY. The committee also called for repeal of the Blaine Amendment (Article XI, section 3 of the state constitution). The Blaine Amendment barred state aid to institutions under religious domination or that taught religious tenets or doctrines.[68]

In December, 1967, Rockefeller formed a Select Committee on the Future of Private and Independent Higher Education to study the private sector's financial problems. He called this committee the "logical successor to the Heald Committee" which had recommended direct aid. McGeorge Bundy, then president of the Ford Foundation, chaired the committee.[69] Committee members represented all sides of the church-state and public-private issues: Abraham Sachar, the Jewish president of Brandeis University, Theodore Hesburgh, the Catholic president of the University of Notre Dame, John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, and James Conant, former president of Harvard University.[70] The committee determined "how the state can help preserve the strength and vitality of our private and independent institutions of higher education, yet at the same time keep them free."[71] State government, the committee concluded, must preserve the financial stability of private institutions without interfering in their governance. Better management, strong private support, and a "modest amount of public aid," would help to preserve the private sector.[72] The Bundy committee, supported by Gould and Allen, but opposed by Bowker, recommended better coordination between the public and private sectors and direct grants to eligible institutions for general educational purposes.

The definition of eligibility profoundly changed the state's church-related colleges. The state would annually pay specified amounts for each degree that a private institution conferred. The funding formula specified differentials for the degrees proportionate to average differences in cost - $400 for each bachelor's or master's degree and $2,400 for each doctorate. Roman Catholic and other denominational institutions had to laicize their governing boards and amend their charters to qualify. The Regents ruled eligible only 52 of the state's 143 private colleges under the approved "nonsectarianism" criteria. The committee recommended that the state's citizens change the Blaine Amendment to cover only elementary and secondary schools.[73]

Most denominational colleges amended their charters and added lay members to their boards. The funding formula did not restrict aid to New York State resident graduates. The Bundy committee assumed that many private colleges relied on enrollment of out-of-state students. And with such an aid limitation, the private and public sectors would have competed for the same students. On June 16, 1968, Rockefeller signed chapter 677 of the education law and Bundy aid to private institutions for general rather than categorical purposes became part of the state's education vocabulary. Rockefeller reaffirmed the state's "deep responsibility to help preserve [but not dominate] the values of our private educational system."[74] Rockefeller thereafter placated the major private universities with Bundy aid increases in exchange for CUNY-SUNY operating aid increments.

Within a few years, economic realities led the governor to reconsider the public-private relationship. Between 1959 and 1973, when Rockefeller left office, New York State's full faith and credit debt increased from $912 million to $3.4 billion. "Expenditures for debt service had grown an astonishing 1,633 percent."[75] Cost containment, revenue sharing, and state budget freezes became the new realities. The political arena focus shifted from master plan implementation to resolution of public-private conflicts that arose from competition for scarce tax dollars. Rockefeller concluded that the costly SUNY system was overbuilt and he now advocated restraint. The Regents and Rockefeller soon parted ways on educational policy. Allen left Albany in 1969 to become U.S. Commissioner of Education. Ewald Nyquist, Allen's successor, supported equal opportunity and access. Other actors attempted to retain previous gains. Ernest Boyer, who succeeded Gould as SUNY chancellor, sought to complete SUNY's building program. CUNY endeavored to protect its free tuition policy and to obtain more state resources for its costly open admissions program.

In November, 1971, Rockefeller froze educational appropriations for the first time, and asked his director of state operations, T. Norman Hurd, to chair a second committee on financing higher education. Rockefeller wanted this committee to study the state's fiscal problems as they related to tuition, student aid, and the financing of public higher education. His hidden agenda was to obtain its support for raising SUNY's tuition and imposing tuition at CUNY.[76] The Hurd Committee provided no such support. Its weak recommendations reflected fundamental disagreements among committee members representing CUNY, SUNY, the private sector, the State Education Department, and the legislature.[77] The report—issued only in draft form—noted the adverse fiscal consequences of rapid expansion. It endorsed proposed federal legislation regarding direct student aid, continued federal aid for categorical programs, matching scholarship aid, tuition tax credits, and a negative income tax for low-income students.[78]

Rockefeller tried again a year later. In October 1972, he asked former U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel to chair a third task force on finance. The Keppel report was issued in February, 1973, but implemented only after Rockefeller's resignation as governor. The report recommended uniform tuition at CUNY and SUNY, coordination of state student aid programs with new federal Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, payment of tuition and fees for low income students in private colleges through a combination of grants, loans, and work-study, and greater state control over CUNY's financing and governance.[79] Keppel proposed that a separate statewide planning council coordinate all postsecondary education and that the governor appoint all Regents. The legislature and the Regents quickly dismissed both proposals. The committee's student aid recommendations fared better. Student aid was designed to equalize public-private tuition differentials. But the incremental growth of student aid programs during the Rockefeller administration resulted in a diffuse, confusing, and inequitable student aid policy. Keppel proposed combining several aid programs into one formula. The resultant legislation directly benefitted private institutions through an increase in Bundy aid, emergency capitation aid for private medical and dental schools, incentive aid for recruiting more low-income students, and emergency aid to the Polytechnic Institute of New York to absorb N.Y.U.'s School of Engineering. The bill also shifted responsibility for processing and coordinating all student grants and loans from the Regents to a semiautonomous Higher Education Services Corporation.

At SUNY's 25th anniversary in October, 1973, Rockefeller observed that a decentralized SUNY system brought at least one and sometimes two campuses into most of the state's counties.[80] Rockefeller bequeathed to New York the nation's largest student aid program, largest private sector, largest public university, the only remaining municipally supported university, and broad-based political support for these enterprises. By avoiding a zero-sum game Rockefeller dramatically expanded higher education in New York State. With 224 autonomous degree-granting colleges and universities, 80,000 faculty members, 500,000 full-time students, 764,000 students in all categories, and $2.3 billion in operating budgets, higher education was a major political and economic force in the state.[81]

Conclusion

What spurred Rockefeller to support higher education? How was he transformed from a patrician into a determined, shrewd, and flexible strategist of political action? What were his political skills? James MacGregor Burns defines political leadership as an interactive process that engages multiple constituencies.[82] He distinguishes between leaders and powerholders by invoking the concept of purpose. He then identifies two categories of leadership. A transactional leader exchanges with another to achieve a short-term objective. The transforming leader induces followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations, wants and needs, aspirations and expectations of leaders and followers. "The genius of leadership," Burns observes, "lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivations."[83] Moving beyond the "great man" theory of leadership, Burns recognizes that "personal influence flows in many directions, vertically and horizontally, through complex networks of two-step and multi-step processes."[84]

The most lasting act of leadership is the creation of an institution that affects society long after the leader departs the scene.[85] Nelson Rockefeller fits the definition of a transformational leader. Political conditions of the 1960s, combined with Rockefeller's education, values, experience, ambition, and resources, enabled him to link needs, opportunities, and objectives. Rockefeller's activist, problem solving leadership style was appropriate to this period of activism and opportunism. He relied upon leading educators for advice, tapped the Regents' unusual policy-making powers, and dominated the state Republican Party and the state legislature through his great wealth. He strengthened the governor's role in higher education through tighter administrative and fiscal controls, and a detailed interest in physical planning. His statewide actions were linked to his national ambitions. He wanted New York to be the premier state in education in part because he expected his 1958 gubernatorial campaign to precede a run for president in 1960. Burns observed that: "Political leadership is a product of personal drives, social influences, political motivations, job skills, the structure of career possibilities. . . fired in the forge of ambition and opportunity."[86] Rockefeller's persistence, ability to apply new approaches to educational problems, and his resources enabled him to effect profound change in New York State.

Senator Jacob Javits observed that "Nelson had the biggest mind in what he wanted to achieve, and money's only value was in what it could accomplish. He used a blend of his own imagination and the prestige of the Rockefellers with all their national and international connections to attain his objectives."[87] Rockefeller understood the need to expand public higher education before he even got to Albany. Allen, Heald, Gould, Gardner, Bowker, and Moore then gave him the blueprint for carrying out his ambitious plans. He responded to the simultaneous demands of large, prestigious private institutions through direct discussions with their presidents and trustees, many of whom he knew personally. Rockefeller 's successful activism could only have occurred with a strong, like-minded Board of Regents and with legislative support. Allen wrote to Rockefeller in 1966: "No Governor can boast of a finer record in education than yours, and

I am grateful, as I believe all of education in the State is, for the tremendous support you have given us."[88]

In New York State, two Republican governors pushed for a public state university partly because political benefits would accrue to upstate and suburban counties where the Republicans were strong, and partly because downstate constituencies pressed for expanded access for high school graduates. Thomas Dewey established the framework for SUNY in the aftermath of World War II. Harriman's administration was plagued with financial problems. His reputation as a spendthrift gave Rockefeller an opportunity to present himself as an advocate of fiscal responsibility. But Rockefeller outspent Harriman in every aspect of state government. He raised taxes his first year in office and left a legacy of overbuilt campuses and large capital debt. At the outset, the need for access created by the postwar baby boom, the availability of new federal programs of student aid and construction aid, and the expansionary national mood all bode well for higher education growth. Disillusion rapidly set in after the student protest movement of the late 1960s. Retrenchment, public-private competition, resource scarcity, and a pessimistic mood arising from the civil rights struggle and a severe economic recession characterized the 1970s. Rockefeller, the institution builder, wanted a flagship university on a par with California, and the neglected SUNY system would fulfill this vision. But political antipathy increased between Democratic-controlled New York City and a Republican legislature dominated by upstate and suburban interests. CUNY's relationship with the governor became more fractious as it sought to preserve its open admissions and free tuition policies and its autonomy while benefiting from state largesse. Demands from the private colleges for more aid led to their proportionate expansion. When Rockefeller resigned in December 1973, the period of expansion had passed into history. The architects of the grand plan—Allen, Bowker, Gould, and Moore—were gone. The 1972 Higher Education Amendments shifted much of the financial burden to Washington. By 1975, fiscal crises and demographic changes brought educational expansion to a halt.

Rockefeller's legacy is still evident as one visits the sprawling architectural behemoths where normal schools and agricultural institutes once stood. Higher education is a major industry characterized by competition for tuition and government aid and mandates for accountability, productivity, and quality. Outmigration and minority access continue to be concerns - now because of population decline exacerbated by attrition, inadequate aid, and public disenchantment with education at all levels.

The fortunate confluence of individuals and events in the sixties led to massive growth of higher education. SUNY was the primary beneficiary, but all sectors reaped the rewards. Nelson A. Rockefeller was the catalyst for that transformation, motivated both by family tradition and his personal predilection for taking on challenging public issues.

"I am simply a man who delights in tackling tough human problems," said Rockefeller. "Nothing delights me so much as facing up to a complex issue, with all its confusion, turmoil, and intensity, and trying to pull together the human resources to deal with it. I like the challenge and excitement of trying to develop concepts within which new and complex issues can be interrelated, reconciled, and solutions can be found."[89]

NOTES

1. The Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, State University of New York published an earlier version of this manuscript as a Working Paper (Albany, New York: May 1989). I appreciate the generous assistance and support of Michael Cooper, the editor. Interviews with the following individuals provided valuable insights into events from 1950 to 1975 and the policy process in higher education: Jonathan Bingham, McGeorge Bundy, Joseph Carlino, Martha Downey, Alvin Eurich, Samuel Gould, James Hester, T. Norman Hurd, Jacob Javits, Oscar Lanford, Louis Lefkowitz, Robert MacCrate, Elizabeth Moore, Ewald Nyquist, Roswell Perkins, Carl Pforzheimer, William Ronan, Mike Scelsi, Robert Sherwood, Sidney Tickton, John Toll, John Trubin, James Warren, Clifton Wharton, and Malcolm Wilson.

2. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Inaugural Address," in *Public Papers of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Fifty-Third Governor of the State of New York* (Albany: State of New York, 1959), 14.

3. *Ibid.* "Messages to the Legislature: Education," 25.

4. The State University of New York consists of 34 state-operated colleges including four university centers, two medical centers, four specialized colleges, 13 arts and science colleges (including Empire State College), six agricultural and technical institutes, five statutory colleges, and 30 community colleges. See *Appendices to Origins and Development of State University of New York* (Albany: State University of New York Office of Institutional Research, September, 1977), Appendix G.

5. The City University of New York consists of 10 four-year colleges, eight community colleges, one affiliated medical school, and one university center.

6. For an excellent history of the New York State Board of Regents, see Frank C. Abbott, *Government Policy and Higher Education: A Study of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 1784-1949* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958).

7. Interview with William Ronan, June 1, 1979.

8. The University of the State of New York, governed by the Board of Regents, supervises all levels of education. The State Education Department is the Regents' administrative agency and the Commissioner of Education, is the Regents' chief administrative officer. This framework evolved through constitutional amendment and education laws. It is de-

signed to protect the educational system from political interference. But, the 15 Regents, appointed by the legislature from the state's ten judicial districts or as at-large representatives, have no taxing powers. This lack of fiscal independence often leads to a split in policy formation, since the Governor proposes the education budget to the legislature and determines revenue allocations for each educational level. The Governor, in turn, must accept the Commissioner of Education as a cabinet member although he does not have direct control over his actions. (Interview with Carl Pforzheimer, New York City, June, 1982.)

9. The original state colleges and their founding dates are: Albany (1844), Buffalo (1867), Brockport (1867), Cortland (1868), Fredonia (1866), Geneseo (1871), New Paltz (1885), Oneonta (1887), Oswego (1867), Plattsburgh (1889), and Potsdam (1867). The professional colleges are: Agriculture (1904), Home Economics (1925), Industrial and Labor Relations (1944), and Veterinary Medicine (1894) at Cornell; Ceramics (1900) at Alfred; Forestry (1911) at Syracuse; and the Maritime College (1913). The agricultural institutes are: Canton (1906), Alfred (1908), Morrisville (1908), Delhi (1913), Cobleskill (1911), and Farmingdale (1912). See *Appendices*, Appendix C.

10. Oliver C. Carmichael, Jr., *New York Establishes a State University* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1958) is a study of the establishment of SUNY. See also Frank C. Abbott, *Government Policy and Higher Education*, chapter 10, "Planning A State University," 225-274.

11. Interview with Martha Downey, Albany, May 28, 1982. See also Ronald Gross and Judith Murphy, "New York's Late-Blooming State University," *Harper's* 233 (December 1966), 93.

12. Oliver C. Carmichael, "The Background of the State University of New York," in *Background and Opportunity of the State University of New York*, Addresses given at the Organizational Meeting of the State University of New York, Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany (April 4, 1949), 93.

13. Syracuse University established Triple Cities College in Endicott in 1946 to accommodate returning veterans. In 1950, SUNY's Board of Trustees approved its transfer as a four-year liberal arts college, and renamed it Harpur College. The college's geographic location in the center of New York State and its powerful political support in Albany led to its designation as a university center in neighboring Binghamton in 1962. George Hinman, a Regent and a close Rockefeller advisor, and Edgar Couper, Chancellor of the Board of Regents at the time, were Binghamton residents. In addition, IBM established a corporate facility in the Binghamton-Endicott area. Observers viewed the designation as a means of attracting further industrial development.

14. See Theodore C. Blegen, *Harvests of Knowledge. A Report on Research Potentials and Problems of the State University of New York* (Albany: State University of New York, 1957); *Minutes of the Board of Trustees, State University of New York* (1957), 154.

15. *Statement and Recommendations by the Regents for Meeting the Needs in Higher Education in New York State*. Adopted December 21, 1956 (Albany: State Education Department, 1957), 16.

16. James E. Allen, Jr. to Averell Harriman, March 8, 1956. Series K, Box III, Allen Papers, New York State Archives, Albany, N.Y.

17. Memorandum of James E. Allen, Jr. to Superintendent of Schools in New York State (October 1958). History file, September 1955-June 1957, Box I, Allen Papers, New York State Archives, Albany, N.Y.

18. Douglas Dales, "School Plan Set by Rockefeller," *The New York Times* (October 5, 1958), 85.

19. *Ibid.*

20. SUNY colleges founded during Rockefeller's administration were: Buffalo (1962), Cortland (1971), Old Westbury (1965), Purchase (1965), Utica/Rome (1966), Optometry (1971), Health Science Centers at Buffalo (1962) and Stony Brook (1970). Community colleges founded during Rockefeller's administration were: Adirondack (1960), Clinton (1966), Columbia-Greene (1966), Herkimer (1966), Jefferson (1961), Monroe (1961), Niagara (1962), North Country (1967), Onondaga (1961), Schenectady (1967), Sullivan (1962), Tompkins-Cortland (1967), and Ulster (1961). CUNY colleges founded during this time included: Baruch (division of CCNY, 1968), John Jay (1964), Lehman (division of Hunter, 1968), Medgar Evers (1970), Richmond (1965), York (1965), Graduate School and University Center (1964), affiliation of Mount Sinai School of Medicine (1967), and five community colleges: Borough of Manhattan (1963), Kingsborough (1963), Hostos (1968), LaGuardia (1970), and New York City Technical College (transferred from State Education Department in 1964).

21. Rockefeller's paternal grandfather, John D. Rockefeller, established the University of Chicago in 1892, recruiting William Rainey Harper as its first president. He also founded the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research in 1901, the General Education Board in 1903, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, several Baptist colleges, and through the GEB, the first public schools for Blacks in the south. Nelson Rockefeller's maternal grandfather, Nelson Aldrich, was a powerful Senator from Rhode Island for 31 years (1881-1912). He served as Senate Majority Leader for 17 years. Nelson Rockefeller's father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., turned over his business interests to his sons at the age of 36 to devote himself to philanthropy in the areas of education, historic restoration, international relations, and scientific research. The two John D. Rockefellers gave away $1.2 billion to establish various foundations, philanthropic institutions and charitable activities. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Statement of Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller," in *Analysis of Philosophy and Public Record of Nelson A. Rockefeller, nominee for Vice President of the United States*, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 93rd Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 12, 13.

22. *Ibid.*, 18.

23. Rockefeller Panels, *Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America. America At Mid-Century Series. Panel Report V of the Special Studies Project* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1958). Rockefeller's National Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, formed in 1973, was a less successful rerun of these panels. Rockefeller formed the commission following publication of a study on the "Role of a Modern State in Our Changing Federal System." Rockefeller commissioned this study while governor in preparation for his final attempt to gain the presidential nomination. See Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Critical Choices and Emergent Opportunities," in *Vital Resources* (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1977), xxiii-xlvii; "Annual Message" in *Public Papers* 1973, 13, 14.

24. Interview with Joseph Carlino, Mineola, New York, January 26, 1984.

25. Gerald Benjamin and T. Norman Hurd, eds. *Rockefeller in Retrospect: The Governor's New York Legacy* (Albany, N.Y.: Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, 1984), 262.

26. Interview with Roswell Perkins, July 4, 1984.

27. Temporary State Commission on the Revision and Simplification of the Constitution, *First Steps Toward A Modern Constitution*. Legislative Document No. 58 (State of New York, 1959).

28. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Meeting the Special Needs of Our People in Every Part of the State," *Public Papers*, 1959, 1161.

29. Gerald Benjamin and T. Norman Hurd, eds. *Rockefeller in Retrospect*, 265.

30. *Ibid.*, 296.

31. Committee on Higher Education. *Meeting the Increasing Demand for Higher Education in New York State*, in *Public Papers*, 1960, 1257-1315.

32. *Ibid.*, 1274-1276.

33. James E. Allen, Jr., "The Role of the State Education Department in Meeting the Demands of Higher Education," Address at Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Universities, Renssalaer Polytechnic Institute, December 8, 1955, in *Addresses and Papers*, 65. See also *The Regents Proposals for Meeting Requirements in 1959-60 for the Pursuit of Educational Excellence in New York State* (Albany: State Education Department, December, 1958).

34. Memorandum of James E. Allen, Jr. to Members of the Board of Regents (June 23, 1960), History File, Commissioner, Box 1, Allen Papers, NYSA.

35. *Ibid*, 7.

36. *Ibid.*, 9-13. The proposal to regionalize the State and City Universities into downstate and upstate systems was revived in 1977 in the *Report of the Temporary State Commission on the Future of Postsecondary Education in New York State* (Wessell Commission) in the aftermath of CUNY's restructuring as a state-operated system.

37. Memorandum of Thomas H. Hamilton to Frank Moore (January 11, 1960) SUNY Archives, Albany, N.Y.

38. Carroll Newsome to Thomas H. Hamilton (March 16, 1961) SUNY Archives, Albany, N.Y.

39. *The New York Times* and *The New York Herald Tribune* provided extensive coverage of the negotiations on the recommendations in 1960 and 1961.

40. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Expansion and Excellence in Higher Education," Address at Dedication of New Campus, Harpur College, Binghamton (September 21, 1960), in *Public Papers*, 1960, 1589, 1590.

41. Telephone interview with Robert MacCrate, June 17, 1982.

42. Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Memorandum Approving the Higher Education Program," Legislative Document No. 39 (April 11, 1961) in *Public Papers*, 1961, 475.

43. *Ibid.*, 478.

44. Frank C. Moore, "Revised Policy on Tuition and Fees. A Report by the Board of Trustees" (January 1963), in *Appendices*, Appendix M, 3-11.

45. James E. Underwood and William J. Daniels, *Governor Rockefeller of New York. The Apex of Pragmatic Liberalism in the United States* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 174.

46. Board of Regents, *Investments in the Future* (Albany: University of the State of New York, December 1960), 21, 22.

47. See E. Richard Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men; Medicine and Capitalism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

48. New York State Committee on Medical Education, *Education for the Health Professions, A Comprehensive Plan for Comprehensive Care to Meet New York's Needs in an Age of Change* (Albany, N.Y.: Committee on Medical Education, 1963).

49. *Ibid.*, x.

50. Memorandum from Moore to File, December 12, 1961, SUNY Archives, Albany, N.Y.

51. Memorandum from Moore to File, January 20, 1962, SUNY Archives, Albany, N.Y.

52. Telephone interview with Samuel Gould, July 8, 1982.

53. Interview with Elizabeth Moore, New York City, June 12, 1982.

54. "Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller," Educational Conference sponsored by New York City Central Labor Council, Hotel Commodore (New York, May 21, 1966) in *Public Papers*, 1966, 1426.

55. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Too Bad About the Mall," *The New York Times* (May 23, 1971), D29. See also Samuel E. Bleecker, *The Politics of Architecture: A Perspective on Nelson A. Rockefeller* (New York: Rutledge Press, 1981).

56. Huxtable, D29.

57. University of the State of New York, *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, December 19, 1963, 718. See also Judith S. Glazer, "Terminating Entrenched Policies in Educational Institutions: A Case History of Free Tuition," *Review of Higher Education* 7 (Winter 1984), 159-173 for a full discussion of CUNY's tuition policies.

58. Harold S. Wechsler's history of selective admissions contains a detailed analysis of the Bowker controversy. See "Higher Education for All: The Mission of the City University of New York," chapter 11 of *The Qualified Student* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1977), 259-292.

59. "City University Legislation Provides Construction Fund, Matching State Aid on Current Basis, Other Benefits," (Albany, N.Y.: Office of Legislative Research, July 6, 1966).

60. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Message Concerning A Major Legislative Measure to Assist the City University of New York in Expanding Its Services," in *Public Papers*, 1966, 191.

61. Lewis B. Granger, "Review of the Proposed Master Plan of the City University of New York," Report to the Hon. John J. Marchi (December 1964), mimeograph.

62. See David E. Lavin, Richard D. Alba, and Richard A. Silberstein, *Right Versus Privilege. The Open-Admission Experiment at the City University* (New York: Free Press, 1981).

63. "City University Firm on No Fees," *The New York Times* 57 (July 12, 1969), 27.

64. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Statement Concerning the 'Open Admissions' Concept of the City University of New York," in *Public Papers*, 1969, 1470-1472.

65. Interview with James Hester, New York City, February, 1982. Dr. Hester was president of both New York University and ACUSNY during the Bundy Committee deliberations. Two studies of the fiscal problems of private colleges and universities in the late 1960s are: *The State Aided Colleges: Financial Profiles, 1969-1973* (Albany: State Education Department, March, 1974), and Earl Cheit, *The New Depression in Higher Education* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971).

66. State Education Department, *Status of New York State Scholarship, Fellowship, and Scholar Incentive Programs: A Statistical Summary* (Albany, N.Y.: Regents Examination and Scholarship Center, 1965-1975).

67. The nine programs included: Regents College Scholarships, Scholar Incentive Grants, Basic Nursing Scholarships, Regents College Teaching Fellowships, Regents Scholarships for Medical, Dental, and Advanced Nursing, Regents Fellowships for Doctoral Study, Lehman Graduate Fellowships, Scholarships for Children of Deceased and Disabled Veterans, and War Service Scholarships. See State Education Department, Regents Information Center, and New York State, *Help for Your College Education* (Albany, N.Y.: Executive Chamber, 1972).

68. *1967 New York Constitutional Convention Record and Index*. April 4-September 26, 1967 (Albany, N.Y.: Legislative Index Company, 1967), 279.

69. "Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller," Scholarship Award Ceremony, Mayor's Committee on Scholastic Achievement, Rockefeller University (December 7, 1966) in *Public Papers*, 1966, 1662.

70. Interview with McGeorge Bundy, New York City, June 24, 1982.

71. Select Committee on the Future of Private and Independent Higher Education in New York State, *New York State and Private Higher Education* (Albany, N.Y.: State Education Department, 1968), 12, 13.

72. *Ibid.*, 55.

73. *Ibid.*, 52.

74. "Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller," Annual Dinner of the Governor's Committee on Scholastic Achievement, New York Hilton Hotel (April 30, 1968) in *Public Papers*, 1968, 1308, 1309.

75. James E. Underwood and William J. Daniels, *Governor Rockefeller of New York*, 167.

76. Rockefeller cited recent recommendations of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education to strengthen his argument. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *The Capitol and The Campus* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971). See also Carnegie Commission, *Who Benefits? Who Pays? Who Should Pay?* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973).

77. T. Norman Hurd, *Report of the Task Force on the Financing of Higher Education in New York State* (February 14, 1972), mimeograph.

78. The Regents issued a separate position paper a month earlier that urged Rockefeller, the legislature, and the higher education community to match resources to enrollment demands. The paper called for an immediate increase in tuition at CUNY and SUNY. See Regents of the University of the State of New York, *Financing Higher Education Needs in the Decade Ahead, A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action*, Position Paper No. 13 (Albany, N.Y.: State Education Department, January 1972), 20.

79. Task Force on the Future Financing of Higher Education, *Report of the Task Force on the Future Financing of Higher Education in New York State* (Albany, N.Y.: Executive Chamber, 1973).

80. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "State University of New York Day," in *Public Papers*, 1973, 526.

81. T. Norman Hurd, *Report of the Task Force*, 4, 5.

82. James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Colophon Books, 1978), 134.

83. *Ibid.*, 19.

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84. *Ibid.*, 134.

85. *Ibid.*, 454.

86. *Ibid.*, 126.

87. Interview with Jacob Javits, Stony Brook, July 12, 1984.

88. James E. Allen, Jr. to Rockefeller (April 12, 1966). Series K, Box 1, Allen Papers, NYSA.

89. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Analysis of Philosophy," 26.

Writing the History of the Disciplines

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Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

IT HARDLY SEEMS COINCIDENTAL THAT TWO MAJOR scholarly works on the history of humanities disciplines should appear at the end of the 1980s. Just a few years ago the appearance of Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy* stimulated widespread discussion about the teaching of the humanities in our universities. William Bennett, director of the National Endowment for the Humanities and then Secretary of Education, made the condition of the humanities a national political issue. Newspapers and broadcast media widely reported the 1988 deliberations of Stanford University's faculty over changes in the texts used in its core curriculum. It is not surprising, therefore, that two leading American scholars should chronicle the pursuit of history and of literature within the academy.

Neither book is an avowed response to these cultural critics. Peter Novick's monumental 648 page study of the American historical profession is extensively grounded in archival and published primary sources. The book is remarkable for its dispassionate tone. Gerald Graff's considerably shorter essay is more argumentative and is based primarily on published sources. It provides an authoritative intellectual history of the study of literature in universities. Both are substantial works of scholarship and synthesis that in quite different ways allow us to reflect upon the pursuit of these subjects within the academy.

Peter Novick's thoughtful introduction to *That Noble Dream* distinguishes between "'disciplinary histories' written by practitioners, and 'histories of disciplines' produced by historians." Novick notes that to intellectual historians "the former...are characteristically distorted by 'presentism': usually of the celebratory (how we got so wonderful) variety; occasionally denunciatory (settling scores with a dominant school of thought or even the discipline as a whole)." Gerald Graff, a distinguished literary scholar at Northwestern University, has written a "history of academic literary studies in the United States" that is neither celebratory or denunciatory. *Professing Literature* traces the development of the discipline from the Yale Report of 1828, which reaffirmed the classical college curriculum, to the 1980s. The book is a document of the discipline, written primarily for those who profess literature within the academy. It is written to describe what happened, what the discipline did wrong, and what it should do differently this time.

Graff describes his study as an "institutional history" because "its concern is not only with particular scholarly and critical practices, but also with what has happened to those practices once they have become institutionalized in modern universities." In fact, he has written an intellectual history. *Professing Literature* emphasizes the ideas that have informed the teaching and study of literature in college and university English departments. Graff discusses the organization of the curriculum and the definition of fields for purposes of faculty recruitment, but he conducts no research on departmental dynamics, the behavior of leading personalities within their departments and universities, or the relationship of faculty members to students and administrators. The book also omits discussion of the Modern Language Association, the scholarly journals in the field, and other aspects of the organized profession.

Graff, nevertheless, gives us a lucid account of the internal intellectual conflicts of the discipline. English literature received scant attention within the Greek and Latin curriculum of the mid-nineteenth century college. But a rich culture of literary societies and oration/declamation thrived outside the classroom. With the rise of the modern university and the academic disciplines in the late nineteenth century, the new "scientific" philologists fought with the "generalists" committed to the use of literary study to advance cultural leadership - the older collegiate ideal. By the end of the century, scholars of literary history began to replace the philologists. Within 15 years, a new conflict emerged between advocates of literary research, now largely historical, and advocates of literary criticism. By the late 1930s, the "new criticism" gained a significant place in English departments. New critics were devoted to explication of texts in their own terms without benefit of historical scholarship. For sometime thereafter literary scholars struggled against the new critics. The reform of general education stimulated by Robert Hutchins' great books emphasis at the University of Chicago and Harvard's post-war reform of general education boosted the new criticism. Contemporary literature gained increased acceptance in the postwar years. By the late 1960s, literary theorists—feminist, Marxist, deconstructionist—attacked literary criticism. New fields, like Black studies and women's studies, questioned the literary canon itself.

Graff wishes to change—not only describe—the literature curriculum. He criticizes the "field-coverage" model of academic departments that allows multiple approaches—each accommodated by a new academic appointment and a new set of courses—to coexist in a curriculum that permits a lot of student choice. The dynamics of "patterned isolation" he argues "has welcomed innovations, but so isolated them that their effect on the institution as a totality is largely nullified." (p. 225)

Graff has no illusions that artificial coherence can unify literary study. Instead, he argues for student exposure to the disputes over the nature of literature and literary study. These disputes should form the core of the literature curriculum. "In the final analysis," Graff notes, "what academic literary studies have had to work with is not a coherent cultural tradition, but a series of conflicts that have remained unresolved, unacknowledged, and assumed to be outside the proper sphere of literary education." (p.15)

Graff repeatedly condemns the institutional arrangements within English departments that allow scholars employing radically different approaches to coexist without coming to intellectual terms with each other. Yet his "institutional history" does not illuminate the nature of institutional dynamics or the behavior of individuals within the institution. Does the structure of departmental governance, the tenure system, the competition for students, or the faculty reward system encourage patterned isolation? *Professing Literature* identifies no significant changes in departmental orientation and institutional dynamics over time. Indeed, Graff assumes that departmental dynamics remained unchanged for the entire history of the American university.

Nor does *Professing Literature* discuss the organization of professional societies or other institutions that intersect with university English departments. For example, Graff describes John Ranson's establishment of the Kenyon School of English where graduate students and junior faculty studied new criticism after World War II. The Rockefeller Foundation subvented the school. Graff notes that "this was not the first instance in which foundation money assisted in the cause of one academic literary faction against another." (p. 158) But, he tells us nothing about the purposes and operation of the foundation and why its officers had an interest in one approach to literary criticism over another, or, for that matter, in literature at all.

Elsewhere, he says that "prejudice against critics [in the years before World War II] was occasionally reinforced by prejudice against Jews or any other group suspected of bohemian leanings." But, save for a brief mention of hostility toward Ludwig Lewisohn and Lionel Trilling at Columbia University, *Professing Literature* does not discuss the entrance of Jews as graduate students and faculty into the profession. Nor does Graff discuss the entrance of women or Blacks, although he mentions the impact of feminist criticism and Black studies on the discipline.

Graff is neither a sociologist nor a social historian. It would be unfair to criticize him for not writing a book he never set out to write. But he describes *Professing Literature* as an *institutional* history, and his assertions about departmental organization and dynamics are made without historical or sociological foundation. In light of his purpose, this omission is a major shortcoming.

The shortcomings of Graff's book are highlighted all the more when it is contrasted with *That Noble Dream*. Peter Novick's ostensible purpose is to "explore the fortunes of the idea of objectivity among professional historians over the last century," (p. 1) But, in fact, this book is a history of the historical profession itself, held together skillfully by the objectivity theme. Although a member of the historical profession, Novick bends over backwards to maintain critical detachment. He informs us that "I am unable (as a human being and a historian) to regard the professional historical venture as unambiguously a blessing for mankind." (p. 15)

Novick's broad conception of the forces shaping the discipline is impressive and ambitious. In each period, he considers historians' writings and, in particular, those that illuminate their epistemology. He also considers the organization and operation of the profession and the universities, the social origins of historians, the external cultural and political environment in which historians functioned, intellectual developments in philosophy, literature, the social and natural sciences, and other fields, and the relationship of the organized historical profession to non-professional historians and to public school/social studies teachers.

That Noble Dream is based on extensive research in the papers of major historians, history departments, and historical organizations, as well as the published works of the leading figures in the field. Novick concentrates on prominent historians of the United States in the top doctoral and research departments. Even with these reasonable limitations, Novick produced a book almost three times as long as Graff's

Novick identifies four periods. From the 1880s to World War I, the new universities accommodated "scientific" history. Professionally trained historians gained greater control over historical writing and research, though they failed to exclude non-professionals. Historians of middle and upper class social origins shared a nationalist view of the American past that emphasized the evolution of democratic institutions. These historians grounded their belief in their own objectivity in this shared perspective. In the interwar years, the profession lost self-confidence. Its status and remuneration declined; regional divisions increased, and its influence over the public schools waned. Some historians questioned their predecessors' uncritical advocacy of the national cause during

World War I. By the 1930s, "historical relativists" like Charles Beard, concluded that historians could not overcome the bias of their time and place, and argued aggressively with colleagues who held to the older objectivist creed.

The economic and social status of the historical profession rose in the two decades after World War II. A stress on the freedom of American institutions replaced the progressive historical interpretation which emphasized conflict between social classes.The ethnic and class origins of historians diversified. Historians rejected the relativist viewpoint and argued that they could seek objectivity notwithstanding their personal biases. This position itself came under severe attack beginning in the mid-1960s as trends in American thought, the ideological polarization of the 1960s, the assertiveness of Blacks, feminists, and other organized groups, and the proliferation of new specialities fragmented the study of history. The profession is now deeply divided on the nature of the American historical experience and the historian's enterprise.

Many historians will quarrel with specific points in Novick's comprehensive discussion. His critical attitude toward almost all the great figures in American historiography and toward the profession as a whole will surely ruffle some historical feathers. Nonetheless, this major work greatly enhances our understanding of historical scholarship in America.

These volumes illustrate the difficulties of writing disciplinary history, and point to the tasks remaining for others. Neither Novick nor Graff assesses the practice of the disciplines outside of a few major universities. How did the intellectual and social developments they describe manifest themselves in the many state colleges and universities, private institutions, and community colleges where a majority of American scholars of history and English work? And what about students, particularly undergraduates? Graff complains that the disputes over the nature of literary study have been obscured for students, but neither author gives us a sense of how these disciplines have actually been taught.

Both books discuss the interaction between practitioners inside and outside the academy. The treatments are suggestive, but ultimately disappointing. Novick considers the relationship of non-professional historians to their university-based colleagues. Graff discusses the non-academic practitioners of literary criticism who wrote in nineteenth century magazines. But neither author considers these interactions in a sustained way. Nor does either author ask who, besides other scholars and students, were the consumers of literary and historical scholarship? The relationship of these disciplines to their popular audience, if any, requires extended research.

That Noble Dream and *Professing Literature* shed light on the "crisis of the humanities." History and literature often accommodate—

even co-opt—new scholarly approaches that often begin as critiques of established fields and methodologies. In this respect, at least, the history of these disciplines reflects the history of the American system of higher education.

Our universities incorporate new areas of knowledge, new methods, training for new occupations, and new social groups fairly readily within their complex structures. But they pay a price for their eclecticism. Universities, like the disciplines of literature and history, have long been attacked for a lack of coherence and inadequate standards. Messrs. Bennett, Bloom, and Hirsch merely renewed these longstanding complaints. Graff and Novick show, however, that fragmentation and confusion over purpose are not new to American scholarship, and may be inherent in the way Americans have organized the scholarly enterprise. Intellectual coherence and academic rigor never really existed in the way these critics imagined. Our higher education institutions mirror American society—diverse, incohesive, entrepreneurial, and central to our national culture. Criticism is the price universities pay for prosperity and social centrality.

Athletics and the Academy

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Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time Intercollegiate Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Donald Chu, *The Character of American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Sport* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989).

Martha Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Boston* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

WHAT WOULD AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY BE without its intercollegiate athletic teams? Athletic teams have been virtual sine qua nons of campus life for more than a century. Teams generate communal interest, alumni gifts, TV revenue, and, on occasion, notoriety. Athletes are often the most recognizable students on campus, and coaches earn more money than most professors, at least those professors outside of medical schools. Athletic directors usually have a direct line to the presidents, while other department heads meander through the bureaucracy. "Big time" athletic victories at some universities aid immeasurably in the quest for "big time" status. Athletic records may actually make some schools "big time."

The intercollegiate athletics-higher education nexus has not been the subject of systematic, objective research. Through the mid-1970s, institutional histories at best briefly incorporated some description of athletics, usually from a narrow range of administration sources.[1] Mass market chronicles of athletic feats, particular sports, record-setting players, and "great" coaches fastened on human interest stories - not on the colleges in which they occurred.[2] A few sport histories and empirical sociological studies treated athletics a bit more critically. But these studies documented the "roots" of problems, teams, and particular sport practices rather than the college context.[3] Only at the tail end of the "athletic revolution" - the reform movement of the late 1960s and the 1970s—did athletics and universities receive extended treatment. James Michener attempted to describe this relationship in *Sports in America* (1976), a histrionic account if ever there was one. Edwin Cady's more thoughtful and balanced *The Big Game* soon followed.[4]

A decade later, three new books address the intercollegiate athletics-higher education connection, albeit in different ways and with different results. In *Sports and Freedom*, Ronald Smith narrates the origin and development of men's intercollegiate athletics. Donald Chu presents a wide-ranging sociological and historical account of the relationship between "big time" colleges and competitive sport in *The Character of American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Sport*. Martha Verbrugge's *Able-Bodied Womanhood*, though not primarily about intercollegiate athletics, discusses the women's collegiate experience by employing a broader, vaguer concept: personal health. These books offer something for nearly every one interested in athletics and higher education. They will not, however, satisfy all readers.

Sports and Freedom traces the beginning of organized competitive athletics to mid-nineteenth century Harvard and Yale. Students reacted to a constraining, boring curriculum and the "in loco parentis" philosophy of the faculty by creating and adapting rules, forming clubs, and seeking competitors. These students defined athletics—especially contests between classes—as the centerpiece of the extra-curriculum. They learned from, and even competed against, their Oxford and Cambridge counterparts. Students also received support, material and otherwise, from local businessmen and alumni who early on recognized the commercial and symbolic potential of athletics and winning teams.

Smith maintains that commercialism and the production of winning teams were central to pre-1900 developments. Disputes between schools, prizes of money and goods, the rapid expansion of athletic competition beyond Harvard and Yale, the formation of inter-collegiate federations, and the hiring of professional coaches all hinged on commercialism. So, too, did the recruiting of other than "bona fide" students and competition against non-college teams. These rational, logical practices were evident in each of the "big four" sports—crew, baseball, track and field, and football. Faculty members never—and presidents rarely—altered the competitive, commercial character of student-run programs. In fact, many presidents—Harvard's Charles Eliot notably excepted—encouraged the themes of winning and "manliness," by claiming that victorious teams were a measure of institutional health, virility, and perhaps revenue.

The ideology of freedom, notes Smith, drove this money- and prestige-seeking athletic venture. This compelling belief in freedom—grounded in American life since the Revolution—thwarted adult efforts to impose the British amateur code, with its control and social class implications. Faculty members only gained sufficient leverage over students in 1905-06, when charges of brutality and unethical practices hit a fever pitch.

In that academic year, faculty representatives from some sixty colleges produced the reformist confederation, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

Smith's amorphous notion of freedom allows the reader to think "license," "opportunity," and the "ability" of students with means to do what they please. Nor does Smith analyze the conflicting tensions between student and faculty freedoms. Smith also fails to discuss the central paradox: by 1900, after nearly five decades of exercising their freedom, students were patently less free than they once had been.[5]

There must, however, be something scintillating to the ideology, for *Sports and Freedom* intersects with *The Character of American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Sport* on this axis. Chu seems unaware of the pivotal role of students in the creation of collegiate athletic programs—and of Smith's previous articles. But Chu also links the "rise" of athletics to a liberty-loving, pragmatic nineteenth century American society. American society and its colleges were more "open" and democratic than Europe and its many institutions of higher learning. So was the relationship between society and the colleges. Actually, American colleges were fundamentally different from their old world counterparts by virtue of their "charters," the "understandings" of goals and responsibilities that institutions and their constituencies shared. Lacking the traditions of European universities and compelled by freedom, equality, and progress, American universities were more "open"—to non-classical curricula, to societal service, and, ultimately, to athletics, which, by virtue of its attractiveness to students and alumni, provided much needed visibility and revenue.

Smith and Chu agree on the formative influence of freedom, but they offer different emphases. *Sports and Freedom* invokes the ideology of freedom to explain student motives in organizing athletic activities. For Chu, however, freedom merely conditions the open charters of universities. College presidents interpreted these charters to include the incorporation of "big time" athletics. The charters and presidential response loom as the pivotal conditioners of big time university athletics gone awry in the twentieth century.

The heart of Chu's book lies in its critique of university athletic programs over the last twenty years. Because of the open charters, Chu asserts, university personnel and the public now expect too many things of athletics. Sports programs must educate, develop character, produce revenue, and present the university in the best light. Empirical sociological research, personal testimony, and journalistic anecdotes encourage Chu to conclude that athletics serve few of these functions well. Intercollegiate athletics have often drained revenues. Sports have reinforced racial and gender barriers. At best, athletics perform symbolic functions: encouraging a sense of community, legitimating (by myth) the quality of an institution, and leading the "search for human meaning" (p. 171). He concludes: salvage the "uplifting" potential of organized collegiate sports and savage the rest.

Chu's moral engagement has a muscular Christian ring. Following Thomas Hughes, and, more recently, Michael Novak, Chu argues that intercollegiate sport can develop an intense spirit bordering on spirituality.[6] Perhaps that orientation is a logical outcome of a functionalist analysis that abdicates theoretical treatment in favor of a unique American pluralism. Perhaps it is one person's vision of salvation for big time, male intercollegiate athletics. But, by stressing spirit and symbolism, this vision avoids, or ignores, the body-mind dichotomy always inherent in the athletic-academic relationship. *Able-Bodied Womanhood* reminds us of this dichotomy.

Intercollegiate athletics play only a small part in Martha Verbrugge's history of women's personal health in nineteenth century Boston. But she casts her discussion in a wider frame than offered in the other books. Verbrugge examines the change in definition and meanings of personal health among middle-class urban women between 1830 and 1900.[7] At first, health meant a state of harmony—between bodily systems and between individual and society. By the end of the century, the healthy woman was "able-bodied," physically fit, and ready to fulfill her worldly responsibilities. Verbrugge omits the subtleties of this shift, but she traces the social and institutional changes that both begot and beguiled women's health. She examines the changes that resulted from women's entry into higher education, specifically the physical culture program at Wellesley College.

From Wellesley's opening in 1875 as a women's college, college founders and faculty feared that intellectual work would overtax young women and destroy their feminineness. The faculty quickly devised a multi-faceted program of physiology classes, anthropometric measurements, and gymnastics exercises to strengthen the bodies of the scholars. Wellesley students—like their Harvard and Yale counterparts—found gymnasium work boring. Instead they organized class and intercollegiate outdoor sports competitions. The move sparked a new debate about women's physical attributes, that was resolved only in the twentieth century. Wellesley students, Verbrugge concludes, proved that "higher education could indeed make women 'stronger in body as well as in mind.'" (p. 161)

Verbrugge and Smith demonstrate that students played the pivotal role in the development of the athletics-academic relationship in the late nineteenth century. It is less clear that students acted as rationally and were as ideologically driven as *Sports and Freedom* proposes. Smith's ideology of freedom seems tenuously suspended from ivory walls. University structure, ill-defined faculty relations, and the social context undoubtedly affected the political struggles that accompanied the evolution of college athletics. These factors redefined relationships among constituencies and shaped the new modes of social practice at least as much as an ideology or an open charter.

None of these books, then, reveals the complete story of the athletics-academic relationship. But each book offers us part of the picture. *Sports and Freedom* describes student athletic competition in the nineteenth century. *Able-Bodied Womanhood* addresses the changing construction of mind and body in women's experience in the nineteenth century. *The Character of American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Sport*, despite its numerous redundancies, contradictions, and reliance on dated secondary sources, persuasively locates the "Big Lie" (p. 191) of twentieth century intercollegiate athletics in administrative offices. Still, even much of the "Big Lie" remains a tangled web. The mysteries of the making of intercollegiate athletics and the remaking of universities await a more perceptive and contextually aware historian.

NOTES

1. The classic example remains Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Both Smith and Chu draw much of their material about the history of higher education from Rudolph.

2. See, for example, John Blanchard, ed., *The H Book of Harvard Athletics* (Cambridge: Harvard Varsity Club, 1923); Thomas G. Bergin, *The Game: The Harvard-Yale Football Rivalry, 1875-1983* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); John R. Behee, *Finding Yost's Legacy* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: privately printed, 1971).

3. David Riesman and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Cultural Diffusion," *American Quarterly* 3 (Winter, 1951): 309-325; Guy M. Lewis, "The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1964); idem. "The Beginning of Organized Collegiate Sport," *American Quarterly* 22 (Summer, 1970): 220-229; Alan Sack, "The Commercialization and Rationalization of Intercollegiate Football: A Comparative Analysis of the Development of Football at Yale and Harvard in the Latter Nineteenth Century (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1974); James V. Koch, "The Economics of 'Big Time' Intercollegiate Athletics," *Social Science Quarterly* 52 (September, 1971): 248-260.

4. James A. Michener, *Sports in America* (New York: Random House, 1976); Edwin M. Cady, *The Big Game: College Sports and American Life* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978).

5. I am grateful to Professor Marcia Synnott of the University of South Carolina and to Professor Roberta Park of the University of California for very helpful discussions of *Sports and Freedom*.

6. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London: Macmillan, 1857); Michael Novak, *The Joy of Sports* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

7. For more comprehensive reviews of this book, see those by Susan Cayleff, *Journal of American History* 77 (December, 1988), 937-938, and by this author, *Journal of Sport History* 16 (Spring, 1989), in press.

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